Hitler's Friend in the U. N.—*J. A. del Vayo*

THE Nation

November 11, 1950

Protestants in Italy

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 171 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • NOVEMBER 11, 1950 NUMBER 20

The Shape of Things

COMPELLED, AS WE ARE, BY OUR PRINTING schedule to go to press on the eve of the elections, we venture to make only one prediction: the country will be enormously relieved to have this year's campaigning over and done with. Rarely has so little been said by so many with such passion, such spleen, and such vindictiveness. In countless instances the bitterness between contenders seems to have been in direct ratio to the triviality of their differences. Real issues—federal health insurance, the Brannan plan, the development of atomic energy, the saving of the peace—all have been buried under an avalanche of personal abuse, charges and counter-charges of subversion, and endless revelations of graft, dishonesty, and corruption. Only a handful of statesman-like figures stand out, men who like Senator Lehman have maintained their personal dignity and scorned the gutter politics of their contemporaries. We fully believe that these candidates will have found their reward at the polls, along with hundreds of others whom the public, rightly or wrongly, believes to be less inclined than most to take their orders from party bosses. This promises to be a bad year for the wardheeler and the clubhouse captain. Beyond feeling relieved to have seen the last of the dead cats fly through the air, the country can now enjoy the assurance that for at least a year decisions of great moment will be made without an eye to blocs and votes and the sensitivities of candidates.

*

IT MUST BE PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S HAPPY purpose to baffle and frustrate Francisco Franco into a nervous collapse. A few months ago Congress dangled some $62,000,000 before the hungry eyes of the dictator, only to have Mr. Truman snatch it away and bury it in the public treasury. Last week the President thwarted the Caudillo again, not to mention his own State Department. In January Secretary Acheson announced that our withdrawal of an ambassador back in 1946 had been a "mistaken departure from established principle," following which our delegation at the United Nations opened a feverish campaign to have the General Assembly revoke its 1946 resolution whereby all member states had been urged to recall their envoys to Madrid. "It is now time," said Senator Sparkman, the United States delegate, "to return to establish usage and lift the ban." On October 31, largely as a result of our pressure the Political Committee voted to lift the ban on ambassadors and, perhaps more important, to admit Spanish representatives to the U. N.'s specialized agencies. But two days later, before Franco could make much capital of the victory, the President blandly told newsmen not to worry about who would go to Madrid for us, because it would be a long, long time before we would be sending any ambassador in that direction. While the embarrassment to Franco is all to the good, the confusion among the delegates at Lake Success can be compared only to the bewilderment that marked our zigzag course on Palestine a few years ago. Once more the President and his chief diplomats are galloping off in opposite directions. But if this spectacle does little to inspire confidence in our diplomacy, it still has the virtue of depriving Franco of a complete triumph at no cost.

*

THE "KING'S SPEECH," READ BY GEORGE VI at the opening of the new session of the British Parliament but written, of course, by the Labor Cabinet, contained only two really controversial items. The first was a proposal to nationalize the beet-sugar refining industry now in the hands of a heavily subsidized private monopoly which was instituted under an act put through in 1936 by the Tory-dominated government of the day. This act will expire shortly and the government has decided that it will be cheaper to absorb directly the losses involved in having a reserve of home-grown sugar than to go on paying from the Exchequer the dividends required to induce private capitalists to do the job. While the Tories have promised opposition to this plan, it will probably be rather formal for the existing set-up is not easy for them to defend now that they have become, on paper at least, the champions of free enterprise and the enemies of private monopoly. They intend, however, to fight hard the government's proposal to introduce legislation giving the executive permanent powers of economic control. This is to take the place of the Supplies and Services Act, originally a wartime measure, which has had to be renewed by Parliament from year to year. When it came before the House last month for its final extension, it met merely perfunctory opposition but the idea of endowing the government with permanent powers to control prices, production, manpower and so forth was denounced by Mr. Churchill as a request for a "blank cheque."

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Prime Minister Attlee in his reply claimed that more economic controls were going to be necessary in the difficult days ahead if the government was to be able to maintain full employment and avoid inflation.

*

THE GOVERNMENT CRISIS IN ISRAEL HAS been not so much solved as postponed. The new Cabinet is almost a replica of the former one, with the addition of a non-party Minister of Trade and Industry to deal with the country's pressing economic problems. What has been achieved in essence is an agreement between Prime Minister Ben-Gurion's moderate Socialist party, Mapai, and the orthodox bloc to maintain the political status quo until January, 1953, when the term of the Knesset will end. To compensate the orthodox bloc for postponing its demand for religious reform, the government will appoint a ministerial committee to clarify the problems involved and meanwhile will continue the present religious restrictions. On the other hand, the ministers have accepted collective responsibility, an important and necessary provision which will eliminate the public exploitation of different groups within the Cabinet. Although the agreement is a recognition that in a period of economic security and external danger all-out political warfare is a luxury that the new state cannot afford. It is to the credit of all concerned that a workable compromise has been reached.

*

WE SALUTE GEORGE BERNARD SHAW IN HIS passing, but we cannot mourn him, nor would he wish us to do so. He could only have lived on as an invalid, and none of us could have borne to see a bed-ridden G. B. S. The great springs of his inspiration had been reduced to a trickle; he had long outlived his great contemporaries—the Webbs, H. G. Wells, W. B. Yeats, G. K. Chesterton. But how wonderful his achievements before time overtook him! And what a heritage he has bequeathed to mankind! If he was not "better than Shakespeare," as he liked to claim, he certainly outshone every other dramatist of the English-speaking world. Even though many of his plays are "dated," because he was always a propagandist dealing with current issues, they are kept alive by his marvelous sense of the theater and his admirable prose. Whether or not Shaw was an original thinker, he was a great popularizer of ideas. In all his many roles, as political pamphleteer, as Socialist agitator, as critic of music and drama, and most of all as dramatist, he played the iconoclast with Pauline zeal. But after a lifetime devoted to shattering the myths of the nineteenth century, he tended to become impatient at the slow and painful birth of the new world whose advent he had prophesied. Like his old friends the Webbs, he in turn was seduced by the great myth of the twentieth century—the efficacy of dictatorship, the possibility

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of salvation through an élite. Or perhaps we should say, half-seduced, for the plays of his old age which harped on this theme failed to carry real conviction.

*

IN COMMENTING ON THE HANLEY LETTER episode in *The Nation* of October 28, we excepted only the *Post* from a general charge that the New York press had handled the story with a shocking degree of cynicism. We are glad to say, as a matter of fairness, that we did not intend to include the *Daily Compass* in the blanket indictment. Our failure to note it as an exception, along with the *Post*, was wholly inadvertent.

The Roots of Tragedy

THE attempt of two fanatical Puerto Rican nationalists to assassinate President Truman takes on grim irony in view of the fact that Mr. Truman is the best friend the island has ever had in the White House. Beginning in 1946 he repeatedly urged successive Congresses to enact a basic statute leaving to the islanders the decision as to their governmental status and offering four alternatives—independence, improved territorial status, statehood or a special dominion relationship with the United States. Mr. Truman broke precedent by appointing a Puerto Rican as island Governor, and he signed the modified reform bill—Congress would not go as far as he recommended—authorizing election of the Governor and the drafting of a new constitution.

The crazy assault on Mr. Truman's life has horrified the country and inevitably lent an air of menace to the nationalist movement out of which it sprang. Yet essentially the explosive erruption of a tiny, terroristic, hate-America faction is important only as a reminder of the grinding economic problems that afflict Puerto Rico. It is irrelevant to shrug off the situation that exists today, after fifty-two years of American possession by saying that the island "costs us more than we get."

Puerto Rico is the improverished victim of a sugar economy that enriches absentee plantation owners. Per capita income in 1947 was $308 as contrasted with a mainland figure of $1,323. Eighty-four thousand families—perhaps a fifth of the population—lived in squalid slums; infant and maternal mortality rates were high; malnutrition was prevalent. In 1949 unemployment averaged 10 per cent of the total labor force.

Puerto Rico lacks sufficient arable land to feed its two million people, yet the population continues to grow for the Catholic Church resists any effort to spread birth-control information. Most Puerto Ricans who have migrated live in dismal ghettos in New York City. Nevertheless they continue to leave by the tens of thousands to escape the terrible poverty of their homeland.

Only within recent years has Congress authorized efforts to improve conditions. Tax preferences have been devised and millions of dollars appropriated to assist economic development. Illiteracy has been reduced, schools and other children's services have been expanded. In the academic year 1947-48, however, 46 per cent of children did not attend school. This year Congress finally amended the Social Security Act to grant Puerto Ricans the protections of old-age and survivors' insurance, child dependents' benefits and aid to the permanently disabled.

Last week's violence in Puerto Rico and Washington was met with the necessary precautionary actions. Beyond that our constant objective should be the creation of a wise, long-range program to strengthen the island's economy and to give its hard-working people a chance to earn their bread as well as to breathe the air of freedom.

Threat Out of China

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

FROM the moment the U. N. forces crossed the Thirty-eighth Parallel, with South Korean troops in the lead, the danger of Chinese intervention was foreseen by informed observers. The Indians in particular had been warned by their ambassador at Peking that the Chinese would probably move into North Korea from Manchuria if the U. N. armies moved in from the south. Not only were they hostile to the idea of foreign "imperialist" forces on their frontier, with the possibility that actual power might be left in the hands of the soldiers and agents of Syngman Rhee; they were also determined to retain in friendly hands the great Yalu River hydroelectric installations, upon which the whole industrial life of Manchuria depends. Indian diplomats in the Western capitals and at Lake Success passed on this information, and Sir Benegal N. Rau, permanent Indian delegate at Lake Success, urged an attempt at conciliation before the drive into North Korea began. His proposal was turned down. The South Koreans were across the parallel even before the General Assembly had set up the new Korean commission and given General MacArthur a green light.

From then on the swift success of the U. N. drive apparently quieted all doubts in high places. Only a few voices, *The Nation's* among them, continued to warn of a probable Chinese reaction as the U. N. troops approached the Manchurian frontier; and to point out the inexcusable risk involved in permitting Syngman Rhee a free hand in the northern area. Now the expected has happened. Chinese troops, in numbers still unknown, have joined the North Koreans in a powerful counter-attack; fresh supplies of armor together with Russian

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Yak and jet fighters have come into action, and savage warfare has replaced the easy sweep toward the Manchurian border. As the week began, the over-extended U. N. forces, trapped or shoved back at several points, had partly stabilized their lines, but the Communists had regained the initiative.

How far will the Chinese go in backing up their Korean comrades? General MacArthur has formally reported the arrival of "alien" reinforcements from Manchuria, and characterized it as "one of the most offensive acts of international lawlessness of historic record." Before these words are read, the Security Council may have met to consider his report and decide what to do about it. Although immediate drastic action is not expected, one thing is clear: China has risked a charge of aggression and probably forfeited its chance of early admission to the United Nations in order to prevent or delay the defeat of the North Koreans and the loss of the Yalu River area. Whether it is committed further, nobody knows, although the blaze of anti-Western propaganda throughout China and the construction of bomb-shelters in Manchurian towns have the look of preparations for real war. But so far nothing reported either by the correspondents or by MacArthur indicates that the Chinese soldiers fighting in Korea are part of an organized invasion in force. It seems rather as if Peking were trying to give its intervention a "volunteer" aspect and thus perhaps ward off U. N. sanctions and the big war that would almost certainly follow.

It also seems as if the United Nations, and the United States, might be glad for the moment to fall in with this scheme and treat the Chinese action as something less than formal aggression, or at least to wait for a full report from the U. N. commission now in Korea before making up their minds. For war with China, whether or not it directly involved the Soviet Union and apart from its intrinsic horror, would demolish all hope of an early rebuilding of American and European military strength in the West, even assuming we were able to muster the force necessary to keep a foothold in Asia. The best-laid plans of the Atlantic alliance would be meaningless once we became committed to a major war across the Pacific. On the other hand, it appears likely that the North Koreans, continuously rearmed and reinforced from across the Manchurian border, can contain the U. N. forces for an indefinite period. And noth-

Go'bless the Squire and his relations And keep us in our proper stations
DOWN WIF KEIR HARDIE
PLEASE KICK ME
Lord Velveteen's efforts were rewarded yesterday by the discovery of a batch of platform mascots. Unfortunately nurses from the Mental Home arrived before they could be signed up.— NEWS ITEM

SEARCH FOR TORY TRADE UNIONISTS London *Daily Herald*

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ing would so effectually offset counsels of moderation as a winter campaign in the Korean mountains, with heavy losses and no end in sight.

It seems to us that another, perhaps final, moment has come for reassessing the whole situation. The apparent desire on all sides to avoid general war affords a little leeway for efforts to find a road of escape. Among the members of the Security Council that have recognized Communist China, Britain and India in particular are likely to move cautiously. Britain's stake in peace with China is enormous, including big commercial interests and the security of Hongkong. India, despite its indignation over Mao Tse-tung's attack on Tibet and his brusque rejection of Nehru's protest, is fixed in its belief that Asia's revolution will be lost if it dissolves into large-scale war. Besides which, India doubtless feels that the Chinese incursion might have been prevented if the U. N. had taken its advice and tried conciliation before launching the drive into the north. It may not yet be too late to offer convincing assurance that U. N. occupation of North Korea will not establish the rule of Syngman Rhee and that the power resources of the Yalu River will continue to be available to the area that depends upon them. Such promises would not be "appeasement"; they would be no more than a clear statement of what must in any case be the premise of a just settlement. Meanwhile the new Commission on Korea, still cooling its heels at Lake Success, should leave at once for Korea under instructions to explore all possibilities of localizing the conflict.

Remobilization GHQ

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, November 3

STUART SYMINGTON'S speech in Houston last night, in which he uttered some harsh truths about the scarcity and profit policies of basic industry, is an excellent starting-point for a report on the state of the remobilization program. To say that all is going well would be nonsense. Men devoted to business as usual are in Symington's own National Security Resources Board, as well as in various other agencies assigned extensive powers by the Defense Production Act. Throughout the Administration there has been reluctance to move beyond indirect economic controls, such as credit restrictions and higher taxes, and to institute direct control of prices. The man supposed to help formulate policy on wages, Cyrus Ching, is merely on loan from the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. The administrator of the top economic stabilization agency, Alan Valentine, has not yet found a price director—he is reliably reported to have offered the job to six unwilling persons—and his staff consists of two experts lent by another agency.

There is much logic in the informal comments of business men to Administration leaders: "If the national interest requires prices to be held down, it's the government's business to make the rules. If you won't lay down the rules, don't ask us voluntarily to stop making profits; the American business system is geared to the idea of profits."

Well-informed men in the Administration with reputations as New Dealers argue that experience under the war-time OPA showed the ineffectiveness of price ceilings unless inflated purchasing power is soaked up by high taxes, forced savings, and credit restrictions. They point to the "hidden" inflation during World War II in the form of quality deterioration and the refusal of firms to produce low-price goods. "You can't just put a gate in front of high prices," they say; "if waves of purchasing power beat against the gate, they will go around and under and over and through the cracks."

That is true, but the skyrocketing prices Symington cited in his Houston speech—prices artificially boosted in the tradition of charging all the traffic will bear—show there should be no delay in imposing at least selective ceilings. Corporation profits have reached the fantastic figure of more than forty billion dollars a year, and the only way to keep down the prices of basic materials is to expand capacity and to enforce ceilings with civil and criminal penalties. Senator Hubert Humphrey was right when he warned yesterday that direct controls are especially needed during the period in which indirect controls, such as drastically increased taxes, are merely a gleam in the eye of a projected lame-duck session of Congress.

On the other hand, anyone who witnessed the unholy fumbling in the "arsenal of democracy" in 1940-42 must recognize that the "gray remobilization" of 1950 reflects a tremendous advance in the philosophy and skill of our responsible leaders. One of the program's assets is Symington himself. His Houston speech demonstrated again that Mr. Truman has found a mobilization deputy with driving energy and high moral courage. I have written before about Symington's willingness to stick his neck out to obtain stringent credit restrictions from a hesitant Federal Reserve Board and to force the Defense Production Authority to place controls on scarce building materials. With Symington running the NSRB we are not likely to repeat the tragic World War II blunder of relying on an "expert" report which assured the White House that the country could produce "plenty of steel." Symington has steadily urged more steel, more aluminum, more copper, more electric power. Last night he gave a tongue-lashing to the executives of a firm producing a "basic material" who had increased their profits 750 per cent between 1945 and 1950 but hesitated to expand their capacity "because of their fear of carrying excessive capacity in the depression they considered in-

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evitable." He also emphasized more sharply than has any other government leader the fact that most price rises are actually wage cuts for the worker. As a result of such statements business men have complained that "Symington is pro-labor."

Another asset is the existence of a little-publicized agency called the National Security Council. It may be recalled that some years ago Congress, in a fit of pique at Franklin D. Roosevelt, refused to appropriate funds for an executive board which should compile continuing statistics on our national resources in people, materials, and production. The National Security Council is the vastly expanded successor to Roosevelt's maligned National Resources Planning Board. It includes the President and Vice-President, the chief Cabinet officers, and the chairmen of the NSRB and the Committee of Economic Advisers. Here, for the first time, we have a responsible agency through which foreign-policy, military, and economic objectives can be equated on a long-term basis with accurate information about our resources. Its operations are guarded as top secrets, but it has been authoritatively described as a "supreme joint planning body" which correlates the necessary information for major decisions by the President.

Mr. Roosevelt played his mobilization program by ear. Brilliant and resourceful in policy, he tried to execute decisions by improvising agencies and to settle disputes among them by creating more agencies. Not until Donald Nelson and Robert Nathan took over key jobs did the "arsenal of democracy" begin to function. By contrast, it is on the basis of the work of a single organization, the National Security Council, that Mr. Truman will finally decide whether to ask the lame-duck Congressional session for ten or twenty billion dollars in supplemental arms appropriations, and what other requests for the mobilization and foreign-aid program he will present to the Eighty-second Congress in January.

There is a tremendous psychological difference between 1940 and 1950. The top planners in the "gray remobilization" today are not shivering with apprehension as they remember the great depression, when too much productive capacity was said to have "oversupplied" the market and caused the long lines of jobless. Increased production is now sought for the sake of both domestic prosperity and national survival. Our gross national product at present is about $270,000,000,000 a year; influential Administration leaders are talking about expanding it to $350,000,000,000; this will ease the proportionate burden of armaments and create new productive capacity for the civilian economy.

As to President Truman's frequent complaint—and Mr. Valentine's recent experience—regarding the difficulty of getting first-class people to take government jobs, it is true that many citizens hesitate to invite Congressional slander by performing thankless tasks, and that men with experience in stabilization measures during World War II have declined to leave lucrative posts in private life. It isn't necessary, however, for Valentine to function with a staff of two experts. There are plenty of able lawyers, economists, and statisticians now scattered through the government who could be drafted for the mobilization and stabilization staffs. One man close to the White House offers to make up the list in a day.

Hitler's Friend in the U. N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, November 1

BY YOUR policy toward Spain in the United Nations you expel us, Spanish democrats, from Western democracy. You are forcing millions of Spaniards who are against Franco—republicans, monarchists, even former followers of Franco who now oppose him because he is ruining the country, all the people who would like to be on the side of the United States and Great Britain and France—to turn their eyes toward Russia as the only big power here at Lake Success which has defended the cause of the Spanish people." Speaking in the delegates' lounge, one of the most distinguished and conservative of Spanish republicans leveled this grave charge at a representative of the United States while the Assembly was debating the resolution on Spain introduced by a group of Latin American countries. I dare say no Spanish republican would dispute his words. The rescinding of the 1946 resolution marked a turning-point in the basic relations of the Spanish republic with the Western democracies.

As for Franco's reaction to the capitulation of the United Nations, it was described in a cable from Madrid to the New York *Times*: "As he has done before, the Spanish Premier took pains to make it clear that any improvement in relations with the United States and the United Nations would be no halfway meeting but a question of meeting him on his own terms." The same dispatch spoke of Franco's "bitter allusions to President Truman's reluctance to lend Spain $62,500,000 voted by Congress over the President's opposition." The last great ally of Hitler and Mussolini still in power displayed the typical contempt of fascist dictators for democratic gov-

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ernments which grovel at their feet. By its action on Spain in the United Nations the United States at the same time antagonized all Spanish democrats and exposed itself to a kick from Franco. And for what purpose? It is not even being suggested that Franco Spain is potentially a valuable ally of the democratic coalition.

LET no one say that the United States simply cast one of many votes in favor of the resolution. Everybody at Lake Success shares the opinion of the New York *Herald Tribune*, which commented on the debate as follows: "Any question of the outcome was dispelled last Friday when the United States announced that it would support the move." The resolution adopted today in the Political Committee rescinding the resolution of December, 1946, which recommended the withdrawal of ambassadors and ministers from Madrid and barred Spain from the specialized agencies, had its origin in the famous letter written by Secretary Acheson to Senator Connally last January on the State Department's changed policy toward Spain. The feeble excuses put forward in that letter were ably demolished in a speech by Mr. Katz-Suchy, the Polish delegate.

Of course, if Secretary Acheson himself, instead of Senator John J. Sparkman, had represented the United States in the Political Committee he would have pleaded his case more skilfully, with less use of the provocative "I." Senator Sparkman, speaking in the style that is usual on the floor of Congress, shouted as if he wanted to make Franco hear him in Madrid. But it remains a fact that it was the Acheson letter which forced the explosive Spanish question into the present Assembly. Lacking that, the seven Latin American republics—El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, and the rest—would never have introduced their resolution.

The effort of the United States to bring other countries into line, especially the Latin Americans, was the subject of much comment at Lake Success. The United States obviously would have liked to see the opposition to the pro-Franco resolution limited to the Soviet bloc so that it could be more easily discredited. This pious wish was balked when the delegate of Uruguay, Professor Rodriguez Fabregat, condemned the proposal in one of the best speeches delivered in the Assembly. Senator Sparkman felt obliged to express his admiration for Professor Fabregat but not to follow the example of the representative of the oldest democracy on the South American continent and place principle above political expediency.

Whatever pressure was exerted in London and Paris, neither Great Britain nor France had any excuse for acting as it did—"after all," as one Frenchman said, "France is not the Dominican Republic." The British Labor government, homogeneous in composition and having a parliamentary majority, could not allege the exigencies of domestic politics. As a Socialist I should have expected the British government to be influenced by the resolutions of Comisco, the international Socialist organization, and by the anti-Communist trade-union international, which had declared it would never tolerate a change of policy toward Franco. And even more by the memory of Prime Minister Attlee's visit to the Madrid front and the pledge he gave to two Spanish Socialist deputies that the British working class and the Labor Party would never betray the Spanish people. Neither of the two deputies can ask Mr. Attlee or the British delegation to explain their apostasy, for both have been shot by Franco.

Out of respect for their memory Britain's representative might have refrained from first saying that "nothing has changed in Spain since 1946" and then announcing that this time, instead of voting against Franco, his country was going to abstain, knowing that the line-up in the Political Committee made an abstention a vote for Franco. The Czechoslovak delegate could not then have quoted against him the words of Shakespeare's Richard II: "If I turn mine eyes upon myself, I find myself a traitor with the rest, for I have given here my soul's consent."

With a stronger sense of shame, the French delegate limited himself to abstaining and did not attempt to explain why. His French clarity and intellectual honesty saved him from any such exhibition of mental confusion as was furnished by some of the other speakers, like the representative of Pakistan, or the Netherlands' woman delegate who declared that "Franco today is stronger than ever"—she should consult the American chargé d'affaires in Madrid, Mr. Culbertson. The delegate from Nicaragua injected the needed bit of entertainment by asserting in all seriousness that Franco had helped the Allies to win the war.

Dr. Belaunde of Peru, who is known as a fanatical partisan of Franco and whose chairmanship of the Ad Hoc Political Committee was no accident, did his best to strangle the debate on the day it started by forcing an immediate vote. In this he did not succeed. Among those who spoke in defense of the principles of the United Nations were the delegates of Uruguay, Mexico, Guatemala, Israel, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet bloc.

The Mexican ambassador, Benito Coquet, demolished the argument that the resolution of 1946 should be revoked because it violated the principle of non-intervention in any nation's internal affairs; some of the delegations which took this position, he pointed out, had helped to pass by acclamation a very similar resolution at San Francisco. Ambassador Garcia Bauer of Guatemala showed the absurdity of urging the resolution's repeal on the ground that it was "not strong enough"; many of the nations which put forward this objection had themselves kept the resolution from being made stronger and had

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promptly violated it by sending ambassadors and ministers to Madrid. Mr. Tsarapkin of the Soviet Union and Mr. Skorobogaty of Byelorussia directed their fire against the sponsors of a resolution offered to the Ad Hoc Committee which declared that no political problem was involved in the U. N.'s treatment of Spain; that it was simply a question of diplomatic technique and functioning. Speaking for Israel, Samuel Eliashiv said: We were against Hitler; Franco was an ally of Hitler; we are therefore against Franco.

The fight will be carried into the specialized agencies, particularly Unesco and the International Labor Office. Instead of burying the problem of Spain as they hoped to do, the sponsors of the repeal resolution and the United States have forced it into greater prominence than ever.

November 3

Yesterday the news of President Truman's declaration in his press conference that it would be a long, long time before he sent an ambassador to Spain startled the pro-Franco delegations and bewildered all those that had abstained under real or alleged American pressure. It was courageous of the President to do this on the eve of the elections, and I do not wish to examine the contradictions between his attitude and that of the State Department. But the President's statement did not affect the decision taken by the Political Committee, which was indorsed in the plenary session with one added favorable vote—thirty-eight to ten, with twelve nations abstaining. When the result was announced, no applause was heard; the friends of Hitler's friend seemed ashamed of their action.

Frenchmen Still Fear Germans

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, October 28

IT IS not often that France, still less French parliamentary opinion, presents something like a united front. But the two-day debate in the National Assembly on German rearmament, or rather on the "Pleven plan," was marked by a striking unanimity. It also had undertones of pathos and fear. The age-old problem of France and Germany was once again up for discussion, and the decisions reached, as several deputies remarked, might have far-reaching and tragic consequences. But even while saying so, the speakers and those who listened were painfully aware that what France decided would probably not settle the problem. "Say firmly no," cried the left-wing M. de Chambrun, "and show that France is no satellite." Yet he must have known that even if France did say no, the only result, in the long run, would be to show that it still had a mind and feelings of its own. On the very day that the French parties, with impressive unanimity, declared themselves opposed to German rearmament, General Lucius Clay told the Germans in Berlin that the time had come for them to rearm, and intensified the cold war by announcing his Scarlet Pimpernel scheme for "smuggling people out of the Curtain countries and using them for Voice of America propaganda, and smuggling in wireless sets."

The so-called "Pleven plan" does not, on the face of it, provide for German rearmament, and indeed firmly opposes the creation of a German army and of a German General Staff and War Ministry, but it supports the principle of a "European army" which would include some German units. This European army would be distinct from the national armies of France, England, and the other Western countries. Germany would have no national army of its own. The "European army" would not come into being until the Schuman Plan had been adopted, a European Ministry of Defense formed, and various other conditions fulfilled.

Not unnaturally everybody waited anxiously for the first reactions from London and, especially, Washington. The Washington reaction—"Well, that's fine; at long last the French are accepting the principle of German rearmament"—seemed all wrong. Washington would of course give consideration to the French plan, but meanwhile it would go ahead with the rearmament of Germany according to its own lights. "There'll be two German divisions next year, or maybe five," was announced in dispatches from Washington. At Bonn, Count Schwerin said he could arm ten divisions right away and mobilize 3,500,000 men at short notice. The Count's statements, incidentally, led to his dismissal as Chancellor Adenauer's military adviser. M. Pleven insisted that his plan must not be considered, as some had suggested, a mere delaying tactic, improvisation, or skilful compromise between the right and center parties and the Socialists. It was, he said, a perfectly serious proposal. At the end of the debate he announced that if the United States rejected the principle of the French plan, France would continue its refusal to sanction German rearmament. When asked by Daniel Mayer, the Socialist spokesman, whether the government would press its idea of a Euro-

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pean army if Britain refused to adhere, M. Pleven said rather vaguely that he would "go on trying" to bring Britain in.

M. Mayer then asked whether the French government undertook to keep Franco Spain outside any European army but got no answer. The question of Spain was, in fact, related to the more general question of "what kind of Europe" the French government was supposed to be building. Perhaps this inquiry was slightly irrelevant, since the Europe symbolized by Pleven's "European army" is in danger of being a singularly small Europe, and its unity, as one speaker said, "would amount to little more than a Franco-German tête-à-tête."

THE question of Britain's participation in the European army particularly interested the long-suffering French Socialists, who have received so many rebuffs from the Labor government. Their concern seemed largely academic, for if Britain was not willing to subscribe to the supra-national authority of the Schuman plan, it was hardly likely to subscribe to a supra-national economic-plus-military authority. The fact that the plan for a European army had been advocated in the first place by a great Englishman was small consolation. Mr. Churchill had desired to see a mighty German army included in the European army; in the French Assembly hardly anyone except Churchill's Strasbourg crony, Paul Reynaud, was in favor of anything like that.

On the contrary. The general tone of the discussion suggested that even the Pleven plan was dangerous—or would be after it had been expurgated and amended in Washington. And Washington might simply argue that France, by its proposal, had accepted the principle of German rearmament. When Jules Moch, the Minister of Defense, left for Washington, many persons warned him not to abandon the safeguards provided by the French plan. What reassured the Assembly a little was that M. Moch had sounded most determined in his opposition to German rearmament—he applauded the "no-rearmament" speeches much more vigorously than did M. Schuman, who sat rather glumly through the debate, wondering perhaps whether his plan might not be thrown out with the Pleven plan when the Americans wrecked the latter. However, the government did not go so far as to follow the advice of Pierre Cot, who said that if the United States ignored French desires, France would be forced to "proclaim its neutrality."

Le Monde described the debate as a "court trial of Atlantic Pact policy," and said that if no avowed "neutralists" were to be seen, the whole place still smelled of *neutralisme*. It was odd to hear Daladier, for instance, deny that there was a serious Russian menace—the whole basis of the Atlantic Pact. The suggestion was put forward by a Socialist that if Germany was allowed to rearm, it might gang up with Russia, and then Russia would really become a menace. A grave danger of another kind was also mentioned: if Germany felt strong, it might drag the other powers into war against Russia, whether they wanted such a war or not. Moreover, French troops would be demoralized by the inclusion of Nazi murderers among their comrades in arms. Old Louis Marin, the Cassandra of the inter-war period, prophesied that France was now going to repeat all the fatal mistakes it had made after 1919. Once the door to German rearmament was opened even half an inch, there would be no end to it. He is apparently the last survivor of the Poincaré school of thought.

The Socialists were in a more "Briandist" mood and could not get away from the idea of a federated Europe. The safeguards surrounding the Pleven plan were clearly of their making. Moch had bitterly resisted the concessions to American views on Germany advocated by Schuman. Although the Socialists are disturbed by the Labor government's standoffishness, they seem willing to go ahead with their European army even if Britain does not adhere to the idea. They are now, oddly enough, more in favor of the Schuman plan than ever before, probably because they see in it, especially if taken in conjunction with the European army, some protection against uncontrolled German industrial expansion. The two also fit in with the Socialist love of "federalism," even though for the present this federalism is assuming a capitalist rather than a socialist aspect. French Socialists hope that the federalist road may ultimately prove the road to peace.

The French press—Socialist and otherwise—has been full of stories of how Bevin "sold out to the Americans" on the question of German rearmament a few days after Mr. Shinwell had rejected the very principle of the thing. Mr. Bevin, it is explained, was "bullied by American economic pressure"—the explanation is even attributed to Mr. Morrison. When such things are said by a Frenchman, the inference is of course that if Britain couldn't stand up to it, how can France? Be that as it may, the French parliamentary debate made one point perfectly plain: German rearmament can only be achieved against the real wishes of the overwhelming majority of the French people. Another point that emerged was that if there is to be a European army, it must be essentially a *defense* force, with the Germans playing only a subsidiary role in it. It must be a cornerstone of European federalism and international goodwill, not a Churchillian army, chock-full of German generals and German cannon-fodder, and capable of being inspired by General Lucius Clay's incendiary speeches about the "peaceful" reconquest of East Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

That the last two would, if Germany rearmed, become loyal rather than reluctant Soviet satellites was, of course, also stressed.

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Should You Buy Color Television?

BY LEONARD ENGEL

THE Radio Corporation of America is carrying on an all-out propaganda offensive to convince the public that, in color television at any rate, black is white. Bringing suit in Chicago Federal District Court, RCA contends that the Federal Communications Commission ignored the public interest when it recently adopted the Columbia Broadcasting System's method of transmitting color television as standard. CBS color television, says RCA, is an inferior, outdated "mechanical" system which will render existing TV sets useless. The commission really should not have made any decision on color at all, says Mr. Sarnoff's corporation; color television isn't ready. Or at least the FCC should have waited until December 5, when RCA will demonstrate an improved version of its own color system.

If RCA wins its point, it will do so through legal technicalities and volume of noise, for its position is without merit. Few of the things which RCA says about CBS color television are even approximately true. Indeed, in striking contrast to the RCA color system and others proposed, the CBS method works very well, is inexpensive, and is the only one developed so far which permits existing sets to be converted to receive color at reasonable cost and thus to avoid being made obsolete by the advent of color broadcasting. All this and more has been amply demonstrated in hearings and tests before the FCC, and in test broadcasts viewed by thousands in Washington. The only ground on which the commission may legitimately be criticized is that, in deference to RCA and other television manufacturers, it took so long to make up its mind. The CBS method has been available in essentially its present form for ten years. We could have had color from the beginning of commercial TV broadcasting, and might have had it, if the biggest TV manufacturers had not been unwilling to sell color sets before all potential customers had bought black-and-white receivers.

To find our way through the publicity barrage which RCA is laying down, we need some acquaintance with the mechanics of color television. Like color printing, color television makes use of three primary colors—red, green, and blue—to build up a full-color picture. On paper at least there are seven or eight ways in which this might be managed. CBS employs the simplest and most obvious, the "field sequential" system: an image is projected first in one primary color, then in another, and then in the third in such rapid succession that the eye blends the images.

The CBS method of transmitting color differs from the standard method used for black-and-white pictures in only two important respects. First, in order to fit the complex color signal into present TV channels—which are narrower than is convenient for color but as wide as the present TV band has room for—the number of lines per picture has been reduced. Second, a rotating color filter in front of the television camera feeds in red, green, and blue images, and a rotating disc with three sheets of colored gelatin in front of the receiver gives each image the appropriate hue.

RCA has labeled the color disc a reversion to the mechanical scanning systems utilized in the discredited television of the twenties. It isn't. The images are built up by electronic scanning just as in black-and-white television; the wheel merely colors the picture. Actually the ability of the CBS method to employ a mechanical color wheel is one of its principal advantages. The color wheel produces magnificent natural-looking color that lends brilliance and opulence to the poorest TV show and is comparatively inexpensive—the wheel unit, together with an adapter to receive the Columbia line-and-picture frequency, should cost about $50, and much less if built into the set in the factory.

Two rival color systems that have been developed are the "line sequential" system of Color Television, Inc., in which the color is built up line by line instead of image by image as in the CBS method, and the "dot sequential" system of RCA, in which the color cycle is repeated for each of the hundreds of thousands of dots into which the picture is broken up. Unable to use a color wheel, both these systems require a picture tube capable of glowing in the primary colors. RCA has devised a three-color tube, but so far the colors are poor. Should an adequate tube be developed, it could also be used by CBS, and probably more effectively than by either RCA or Color Television, Inc., for their methods involve formidable special problems of color "registration" (exact placement of the color dots and lines) and "color cross-talk" (mixing of color signals).

RCA has put on several demonstrations of its system. For the most recent, with the three-color tube, the headline used by *Variety* to describe the first is still appropriate: "RCA Lays an Off-Color Egg." Different receivers showed the same object in different colors. The colors changed in the course of the demonstration. The top and bottom of a solid-color object would appear

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in one shade and the center in another. One part of the screen would have a greenish cast and another a reddish; this would also change from time to time. Flesh tones could not be reproduced at all. Better colors will no doubt be possible in the future, but RCA has a long way to go to approach even Technicolor.

Needless to say, RCA is not talking about quality of color. Its public-relations men prefer to emphasize the limited size of the CBS picture, though it is not objectionably small and can be made larger with a three-color tube, and the loss of detail caused by the reduction in the number of lines per picture, though the color more than compensates, giving sharper definition to the picture as a whole.

RCA is also making much of "compatibility," a reference to the fact that under the RCA system existing sets will be able to receive color broadcasts in black and white without any modification of the set, whereas under the CBS system sets require an adapter to receive color programs in either color or black and white. Existing sets, RCA claims, would be protected from obsolescence by use of its system. Compatibility is an advantage, however, only to set owners who don't want color. Those who want to receive color programs in color would probably have to buy an entirely new television set, as no converter has yet been demonstrated for the RCA system. RCA-type sets, most of the television industry privately concedes, will cost substantially more than black-and-white sets—perhaps more than twice as much. The FCC came to the conclusion that "compatibility, as represented by all color-television systems which have been demonstrated to date, is too high a price to put on color."

THE present chapter in the color controversy began on September 1, when the FCC issued a report on a year of tests and hearings on color. Though the commission saw no real prospect of another system that would provide good color at a reasonable cost, it was reluctant to shut the door on CBS's rivals. On the other hand, the longer a decision was put off, the more set owners would eventually have to buy an adapter if all other color systems but CBS's failed. The FCC accordingly proposed a comparatively simple change in the design of future TV sets to permit them to receive either standard or CBS signals without the use of an adapter. This would have maintained the status quo and made it comparatively easy to adopt whatever color system finally proved most satisfactory. The commission said it would hold off a decision on color if at least several of the major TV manufacturers accepted the proposal. Not one did. It was only then, on October 10, that the FCC, feeling that further delay would merely make the situation worse, handed down its decision.

The truth of the matter is that the larger TV manufacturers don't want color now or in the near future, and at least some of them are by no means happy over the introduction of a system of color broadcasting which makes possible the conversion of old sets at comparatively low cost. They want color reserved for a second round of TV sales. Shortly after the first exhibition of CBS color in 1940, the engineering panel of the National Television Systems Committee overwhelmingly indorsed the CBS color system and recommended that commercial TV broadcasts, which were expected to begin in a few months, include color from the outset. Dr. W. R. G. Baker of General Electric, chairman of the Television Systems Committee, according to a transcript of proceedings now in possession of the FCC, thereupon laid down the law to the engineering panel, after which the panel joined other subsections of the committee in recommending to the FCC that color be excluded from consideration.

The color question came up again after the war when CBS applied for a license to begin regular color broadcasts. The manufacturers persuaded the commission to turn CBS down on the ground that thorough laboratory tests had just been completed on an incomparably superior system. This remarkable invention turned out to be the RCA "dot simultaneous" system, which existed only on paper and subsequently proved so poor that RCA gave it up. A few days before the start of the 1949 color hearings RCA's dot-sequential system was similarly announced as the answer to the set owner's prayer. As before, performance bore no resemblance to promise. The only possible conclusion, declares FCC Commissioner Robert F. Jones in a lengthy analysis of the industry record over the years, is that the industry's sole purpose is to defeat color, and that RCA's color system has been exploited to stall off the FCC decision.

On purely legal grounds RCA may obtain a court ruling temporarily setting aside the FCC's decision and then enjoin the start of color broadcasts by CBS. It is doubtful, however, that RCA can stave off color for more than a few months, for the industry front has begun to crack. Westinghouse and several small manufacturers have announced that they will have adapters and converters in production as soon as color broadcasts actually begin. A large retail firm is guaranteeing to supply adapters and converters for all new sets for $49.50 or less as soon as they are available. Several large manufacturers have also agreed to incorporate outlets for an adapter and converter in future TV sets. If only one large firm goes so far as to plan to build internally adapted sets, the dam will be broken. With unadapted black-and-white sets piling up in the warehouses—the public is wisely holding off buying and TV sales have skidded—the chances are that more than one manufacturer will accept the new techniques in TV and start building color sets.

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Kashmir—Troubled Vale

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

Karachi, October

TWO AMERICANS, for whom Korea since June has been the focal point in Asia, it may come as a surprise that in this bustling sun-drenched capital of the new state of Pakistan talk of war, in drawing-room and bazaar, centers exclusively on Kashmir. The violent emotion aroused by an incomplete Reuters release on the report Sir Owen Dixon of Australia had submitted to the United Nations Security Council—indicating that the U. N. mediator had taken the side of India against Pakistan—has somewhat abated now that the entire report is available. Pakistani opinion, however, is more convinced than ever that India—always referred to here as "Bharat," the Indic name for India—has once again revealed a flatly intransigent attitude with respect to Kashmir, and that nothing can be accomplished by direct negotiations between Karachi and New Delhi. The feature of the Dixon report which has stirred Pakistan to the boiling point is the recommendation that since no formula has been discovered by the Security Council for settlement of the Kashmir dispute, the two contending governments should be invited to adjust the matter between themselves. This course, according to the Pakistanis, would merely confirm India's present control over the major portion of Kashmir.

The Pakistanis feel that they went as far as possible to show a conciliatory spirit during their conversations with Sir Owen. Karachi agreed to refrain from insisting on its previous demand for a general plebiscite in Kashmir and to accept, if India was ready to do likewise, the principle that where the wishes of the Kashmir people were known, territory should be divided accordingly. Only where the people's wishes were in doubt, notably in the Vale of Kashmir, would a limited local plebiscite be required. When Nehru, in answer to a direct query by the U. N. mediator as to the acceptability of these terms, refused to allow the Vale of Kashmir to decide its own future, his attitude was taken by the Pakistanis, who believe India knows it would lose the Vale plebiscite, as proof positive that the New Delhi government has no intention of seriously considering a peaceful adjustment of the dispute. Pakistanis find it galling that India, a member of the Security Council, assumed the role of peacemaker in the Korean war when, in their view, it has done nothing to bring peace in Kashmir.

What will be the next step? The more moderate Pakistani spokesmen contend that the Security Council cannot, as recommended by Sir Owen Dixon, renounce responsibility for the Kashmir dispute and refer it back to the two contestants. In a statement issued on September 28 Mohammad Yusuf Khattak, general secretary of the All-Pakistan Moslem League, declared that the Security Council must now complete the demilitarization of Jammu and Kashmir and hold a fair and impartial plebiscite under the authority of the United Nations. He contrasted the swift action of the Security Council in Korea with its delays and lack of action on Kashmir. "If the U. N. can send an army to Korea to fight there, it should surely be able to send a police force to Kashmir and Jammu which would maintain law and order in the state until a plebiscite is held." The people of Pakistan, he warned, "have always hoped against hope that the U. N. would assert itself in the case of Kashmir, but if they are disillusioned again, they will have to think on totally different lines." If the U. N. failed, the world would be convinced, said Khattak, that it was an organization tolerated and employed by America and Britain only to crush the Soviet Union. This argument, stressed on all sides in Karachi, is particularly significant if one bears in mind that Pakistan has frequently emphasized abroad the ineradicable anti-Communist sentiments of its Moslem population.

As can readily be imagined, the view that the U. N. is an instrument of the Western powers against the U. S. S. R. and not the protector of small nations has generated strong feelings against the United States and, to a lesser extent, against Britain. For the British the present deadlock on Kashmir presents a difficult problem in Commonwealth relations. Pakistan is seeking London's backing against India; yet quite aside from Britain's desire to maintain good relations with both states, the British government would be loath to intervene in a dispute between India, an already established member of the Commonwealth, and Pakistan, which it hopes will decide to remain in the Commonwealth. No comparable issue has arisen in the hitherto relatively placid history of Commonwealth relations. But then, to be fair, the members of the Commonwealth have had the good fortune until now of being so dispersed over the surface of the globe that their territories did not touch.

If the United Nations fails to break the deadlock on

VERA M. DEAN, research director of the Foreign Policy Association, has been visiting Pakistan and India as a delegate to the eleventh conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Lucknow. India's views on the Kashmir dispute will be discussed in a coming article by K. Rangaswamy, a New Delhi journalist.

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Kashmir, what then? Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan, who has displayed real qualities of statesmanship in dealing with India, has proposed, in lieu of the general "no war" declaration suggested by Nehru, that the two governments adopt a clear-cut procedure for peaceful settlement of all disputes, setting specific deadlines for negotiation and mediation. While the Prime Minister thus seeks to hold public emotion firmly in check, from traditionally militant Peshawar comes the news that Pathan representatives in the Frontier Assembly insist that Pakistan should give one month's notice to the Security Council to solve the Kashmir issue in "a just and democratic manner." Failing this, the Pakistan government should immediately declare Jehad (Holy War) and make every effort to recover the "enemy-held" territory. Observers here believe that the frontier population, which has always loved a good fight, could easily be roused to a "holy war."

Even if there is no actual fighting, as long as the Kashmir conflict remains unresolved, this relatively undeveloped country, which needs all its resources for the construction of a viable economy, will suffer from the drain of expenditures on defense, now estimated at 65 per cent of the national budget. Stabilization of Pakistan's relations with India is thus a matter of concern to the United Nations both because of the threat of war over Kashmir and because Pakistan's economic development depends on the removal of this threat.

Protestants in Italy

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

Rome, October

RELIGIOUS discrimination against Protestants has been so much more spectacular in Spain than in Italy that the discriminatory policies of the Vatican in its home country have received little attention. It is true that Protestants in Italy are free to practice their religion openly, whereas in Spain they are not. An outdoor Protestant celebration could not take place in Madrid, but it could in Rome. Neither Protestant churches nor Jewish synagogues are obliged to disguise themselves here, and they are permitted to distribute their publications. There are some flourishing Protestant congregations in Italy, with a total membership of 100,000, about 0.2 per cent of the population. The Jewish population has been reduced to perhaps 30,000, but no substantial discrimination seems to be exercised against members of the Jewish faith as such at the present time.

Italian non-Catholics are nevertheless confronted with a whole series of institutional and governmental practices which restrict their freedom of action and criticism and relegate them to the category of second-class citizens. The worst sufferers are the anti-clerical Catholics, the millions of Italians who were baptized into the church but who oppose its doctrines and practices as reactionary. They are constantly penalized for living in a commonwealth where the Vatican has a privileged position in education, domestic relations, and public employment.

Discriminatory measures have been written into Italian law as a direct result of Vatican pressure; most of them were formulated in the Mussolini-Vatican Concordat of 1929. The Vatican and Mussolini imposed on the Italian people the doctrine of the inequality of churches at almost the same time that Al Smith was declaring in the United States that as a good Catholic he believed in the "equality of all churches." The present Christian Democratic government, headed by a former Vatican employee, has preserved the inequality in statute law.

The 1929 Concordat gave the Roman Catholic church official status as the "sole religion of the state," with the exclusive right to receive government money for its priests and the exclusive privilege of teaching religion in the public schools. It also recognized the Pope as the head of a sovereign power. Under a separate section of the criminal code an insult to the head of a foreign power is a punishable offense, but in practice the Pope is the only head of a foreign power protected from insult by the law. The Communists insult President Truman hourly, the leaders of Catholic Action do the same to Stalin, and neither group is prosecuted for the offense. Many Italians, however, have been prosecuted and punished during the past three years for criticizing the Pope.

Shortly after the Concordat was signed, Mussolini wrote into the Italian criminal code a further distinction between offenses against Catholicism and against other denominations, and this has been preserved by the present government. The maximum penalty for an attack on Catholicism is three years' imprisonment; for an attack on Protestantism the penalty is officially "diminished," which means that it is not imposed. I have been unable to find any record of the prosecution of a person for insulting Protestant clergymen during the twenty years since the promulgation of this law, although insulting attacks on clergymen appear constantly in Vatican publications. On the other hand, only last July a butcher

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in Arezzo was sentenced to a year and four months in prison for slandering the Pope and offending against the religion of a priest. In the same month a man in Rome received a ten-month sentence for writing a booklet called "Propaganda of the Vatican against Progress." The booklet stated that the dollar mark had been inscribed above the altar and condemned the Pope for failing to distribute riches to the poor.

LAST year a left-wing editor in Milan was sentenced to prison for printing a sarcastic attack on the Pope in connection with the marriage of Tyrone Power to Linda Christian, the ceremony having been performed by a high church official a few hours before Power's Los Angeles divorce had been granted. The editors of Rome's left-wing anti-clerical weekly, *Don Basilio*, have escaped prison only by modifying their cartoon attacks on the Pope. They were warned that they must refrain from ridiculing the head of a foreign state in that way. Since then they have published caricatures of the cardinals and authentic and respectful photographs of the Pope.

The indefiniteness of the restrictions has seriously handicapped the anti-clerical press. No publisher can predict what the government will consider an insult to a "foreign sovereign." Even an attack on the validity of relics can be punished by imprisonment up to three years, since "slander against things which are the subjects of worship" is a crime under the law, and the honest exposure of fake relics might be treated as slander. One Italian publisher has been sentenced to prison for seven months for publishing a series of books called "Anti-Clerical Thought" which were held to be a slander on the religion of the state.

How can such discrimination be practiced under a supposedly liberal constitution? The answer is that the Italian constitution does not actually guarantee religious equality or freedom of speech in dealing with the Vatican. The Constituent Assembly carried on a long discussion of religious rights, and in the end the Vatican won over the liberals. The champions of the church struck out from a preliminary draft of the constitution the statement "All religious denominations are equal before the law" and substituted a watered-down clause to the effect that all confessions should be "equally free." Then the reactionary members of the Assembly, with the support of the Communists, wrote the whole Mussolini-Vatican pact of 1929 into the constitution by reference, and provided that it could be eliminated from Italy's basic law only with the consent of both parties to the agreement.

In practically all the criminal cases I cited above, the lawyers for the defense appealed to Article 8 of the constitution, which guarantees that "all religious cults are equally free under the law," or to Article 3, which says that "all citizens have equal social dignity and are equal before the law without distinction of sex, race, language, religion, political opinion, or personal and social condition." But the courts have ruled that these provisions must be interpreted in the light of the special Catholic privileges sanctioned by the Mussolini-Vatican Concordat, which are also in the constitution.

The special status of the Catholic church prevents any honest handling of the divorce problem in Italy. At present Italy permits civil marriages, although the Vatican angrily opposed this concession. But there is no divorce for any Italian citizen. A Catholic legislator who voted for a permissive divorce law would have committed a mortal sin and be subject to excommunication. Even if such a law were put on the statute books, the Vatican would claim that it could not be applied to Catholic marriages, since the Concordat declares marriage indissoluble, and the Concordat takes precedence over statute law. Protestants and Jews must suffer along with those liberal Catholics who would like the right to divorce.

As a result of the impossibility of readjusting unfortunate marriages, millions of Italians look for sexual happiness outside of married life. It is estimated that from one-fourth to one-third of the population have contracted unofficial sexual alliances. Open non-marital "families" are quite common. Rome has thirty-eight licensed brothels. The rich have been able to reshuffle their family arrangements by getting divorces in the Balkans, and then persuading a liberal court in Turin to approve the foreign decree. Recently that avenue was cut off by the Christian Democrats, who, over the solid opposition of all other parties, passed a law which in effect stops the approval of foreign decrees.

PROBABLY the most serious discrimination in Italy today is suffered by ex-priests. One of the concessions which Pius XI extracted from Mussolini in 1929 was that ex-priests should not be permitted under the laws of the state to hold "any office or employment in which they have immediate contact with the public." For most priests who wish to take up another occupation the denial of work as teachers or civil servants means continuing unemployment. No one knows how many ex-priests are affected by this rule. An authority in the field estimates that about 6,000 men have left the priesthood in Italy since 1940, and that 700 a year are still leaving. There is no doubt that the number would substantially increase if ex-priests could enter teaching posts in government schools.

The experience of my friend Y, a former priest, may be considered typical. Y is a cultured man of middle age who holds a doctorate in classics in addition to his theological degree from the Gregorian University in Rome. After teaching in private schools for several years, he decided, rather late in life, to become a missionary priest. He left his teaching post, studied for the priesthood,

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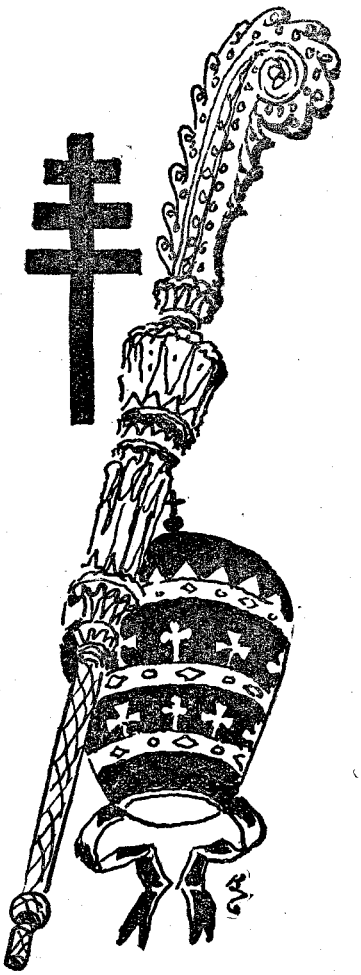
and was ordained. The war prevented his immediate assignment as a missionary, and he began teaching as a priest in a Catholic high school.

His studies had awakened various theological questions in his mind, and he began to doubt certain orthodox historical doctrines. Some of his views were discovered by his pupils and reported by their parents to the inquisitors of the Holy Office. The Holy Office discharged him as a teacher and priest and excommunicated him as a Catholic on three grounds—that he questioned the infallibility of the Pope, that he doubted the Trinity, and that he challenged the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas. He applied for a position in three non-Catholic schools, but in each case the school authorities did not dare to employ an ex-priest, though no question had ever been raised as to his teaching competence or his personal morality. Mimeographed letters were sent out by the church to all parents in the district where he lived directing them not to employ him as a tutor for their children. Two strong-arm men from Catholic Action warned him not to organize the ex-priests of his region. When it was rumored that he was going to the United States to obtain help for ex-priests, the Papal Nuncio to the government of Italy, Monsignor Duca, wrote to the Ministry of Interior and the Foreign Office asking that he be denied a passport. Y is now eking out a living by tutoring a few children of Waldensians.

THE Vatican directly encourages such discrimination. In defending the provision against ex-priests in the Concordat, *Civiltà Cattolica*, the Jesuit magazine which probably deserves to be rated as the most intellectual organ of world Catholicism, declared last March that "apostate and censured priests are garbage." When Church of Christ missionaries from Texas were attacked last winter in Frascati after a local priest had denounced them in a sermon, *Civiltà Cattolica* condoned the violence, deplored the fact that the government had permitted the Protestant missionaries to stay so long in Italy, and said that "nothing more has happened than a little innocuous stone-throwing."

Church leaders here frequently ask for legislative curbs on the proselyting of Catholics by evangelical Christians and, lacking such curbs, advocate direct action. The cover of an official booklet on Protestantism being distributed throughout Italy under the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Naples pictures Protestants as hungry jackals storming the walls of St. Peter's, and the text describes Protestant leaders as "disgraceful apostates of the sanctuary in whom there is not a shadow of good faith." "The heads of Protestantism," it says, "were true and real criminals, worthy of jail. Their principles are immoral and bring about anarchy." All Catholics, of course, are forbidden by canon law to read Protestant literature, and frequently the prohibition is posted on church walls beside a similar order not to read any Communist literature.



Italy's discrimination against ex-priests is accompanied by legal favors to actual priests. Priests convicted of crime must be treated with special consideration: their ecclesiastical superiors must be notified, and they must be confined in separate quarters. The most popular targets of the Vatican's anti-Protestant campaign at the present time are the Pentecostal sects from the United States, which since the war have carried on extensive missionary work in Italy. (The Waldensians, Baptists, and Methodists are the three best-established sects.) Because of their intense emotionalism, the Pentecostals have been made the subject of a special regulation which permits the police to suppress their meetings as "against social order and harmful to the physical and psychological integrity of the race." In effect this regulation suspends the operation of the religious-freedom clauses of the constitution for Pentecostals. Many fantastic acts of discrimination have resulted. The most famous was the refusal of the mayor of the little northern town of Cavaso del Tomba last April to allow a Pentecostal preacher to use the town water, because his cult, in addition to being "prohibited by the Italian state, hurts the Roman Catholic sentiment of the overwhelming majority of the people of this commune."

Unfortunately, the mayor's act was a logical consequence of Vatican teaching. The Vatican has never repudiated the famous statement of *Civiltà Cattolica* published originally on April 3, 1948:

> The Protestants start from the right of freedom, the Catholics from the right of truth. . . . The Roman Catholic church, convinced, through its divine prerogatives, of being the only true church, must demand the right of freedom for herself alone. . . . In a state where the majority of the people are Catholic, the church will require that legal existence be denied to error, and that if religious minorities actually exist, they shall have only a *de facto* existence without opportunity to spread their beliefs.

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Why Ho Chi Minh Can Win

BY PEGGY DURDIN

Saigon, October 18

THE recent severe reverses suffered by the French in Indo-China and their abandonment of an important stretch of the northern border underline the critical nature of their military position in Vietnam today.* It is difficult to see how French forces, alone, can hope to win any decisive victory against the revolutionary movement known as Viet Minh. They may not even be able to keep the areas they now hold or prevent Ho Chi Minh's troops from thrusting into the rice-producing Red River Delta in Tonkin. The immediacy of the danger is indicated by the establishment of a state of alert in North Vietnam, with the military taking over control of the civil police, and the partial evacuation of British and American oil-company personnel from Hanoi.

The French strategy has been to contain the major part of Ho's army in the malaria-ridden and food-deficient mountains of northern Tonkin, barred from the rice of the Red River Delta and sealed off from the Chinese Communists on the north. With Ho's best troops thus immobilized, the French hoped gradually to mop up and pacify the rest of Vietnam. Their withdrawal from a large part of the frontier line of defense leaves Ho free access to Communist China and a solid base from which he can threaten all Tonkin.

The French lost nearly three thousand of their best troops—Moroccans and legionnaires—in the battle on the frontier early this month. The magnitude of their defeat reveals the shift in the balance of military power between them and Viet Minh. Ho's army, profiting from intensive training and new equipment, has wrested the initiative from the French.

There is little doubt that what a French spokesman called the virtual disappearance of the China border is largely responsible for the transformation of Viet Minh's guerrilla forces into an army capable of large-scale, well-coordinated operations. For months Viet Minh troops have been moving freely back and forth across the border on trails constructed between the fortified French posts. Rice has been carried in from China, some of it from Viet Minh operated farms. The former clandestine traffic in arms has become organized government aid.

It seems well established that the Chinese Communists have been equipping and training some thirty thousand Viet Minh troops in three camps in Yunnan, Kwangsi, and Kwangtung provinces. Peking has recognized the government of Ho Chi Minh and is reliably reported to have sent a sizable military mission to his headquarters. There is no definite evidence of the presence of Chinese troops in Tonkin, but the kind of aid now being furnished can be expected to increase.

The Viet Minh army now consists of from 70,000 to 100,000 regulars, an equal number of second-line troops, and auxiliaries of various kinds. About half the Viet Minh troops are in Tonkin. A few are in Laos and Cambodia, where they join local independence units in guerrilla activity. In addition to northern Tonkin, they control the southwest tip of Cochin China, large areas west and north of Saigon, and all of Annam except a narrow strip along the coast. Against this widely scattered enemy the French have perhaps 150,000 men in Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam, but only a small portion of them are available for offensive operations. The others are protecting "liberated" territory from guerrilla incursions and terrorism, manning the hundreds of big and little posts that cover North, Central, and South Vietnam, guarding convoys and patrolling roads.

French military equipment is both out of date and inadequate. The United States is committed to supply the deficiencies, and American army observers said recently in Saigon that all military supplies requested by the French have been programmed. What the French need more urgently is large and rapid reinforcements of men. And in view of France's obligations under the Atlantic Pact and the unpopularity of the Indo-Chinese war, there is no assurance that these will be available. American policy stops short of sending men.

For some time Americans have urged the formation of a large Vietnamese national army under loyal Vietnamese command which might win the support of the people and effectively police the countryside. If such a program had been effectively pushed a year or so ago, Vietnamese soldiers might now be releasing French forces for offensive operations. Local French authorities have cited the cost of such a program and the difficulty of training an adequate number of Vietnamese officers, but they have really doubted the dependability of a large body of Vietnamese troops under native leadership. There is, indeed, every reason to fear that such a force would ultimately declare for independence

PEGGY DURDIN, a newspaperwoman now staying in Southeast Asia, will from time to time send The Nation *articles on developments in that region.*

*Indo-China is now composed of three partly autonomous states—Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. The latter is divided into North Vietnam (the former protectorate of Tonkin), Center Vietnam (the former protectorate of Annam), and South Vietnam (the former colony of Cochin China).

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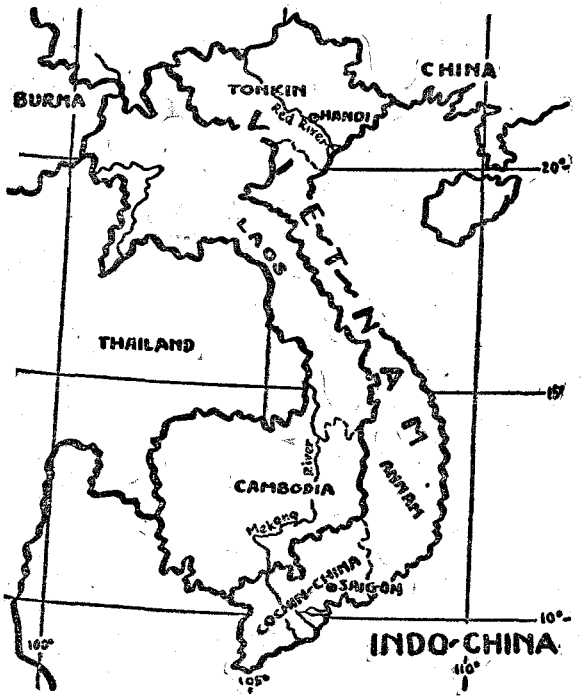
against the French. The recent appointment of General de la Tour as military adviser to the Vietnam government indicates that the French now wish to accelerate the training of a Vietnamese national force.

AFTER trying unsuccessfully for several years to defeat Ho Chi Minh by force, France finally granted Vietnam a considerable degree of autonomy within the French Union. But it continued to control foreign relations and national defense, gave no date for withdrawal of French troops, and refused to make a definite promise of ultimate independence. The French hoped that this semblance of an independent government would draw away from Viet Minh the non-Communist nationalists, who still form perhaps 80 per cent of Ho's followers. But it has not done so. Headed by Bao Dai, the central Vietnamese government is a collection of weak personalities without appreciable popular influence or support. It is backed only by a few regional religious groups. Some Catholics have been won over by Bao Dai, but many remain supporters of Ho Chi Minh. The leading Catholic politician in the country refuses to join the government. Nor has the regime become a rallying point for non-Communist nationalists.

However the war between the Viet Minh and France may look to the outside world, in the eyes of the great majority of the Vietnamese it is a conflict between nationalism and colonialism, with the Bao Dai government simply a tool of the colonial occupying power. When Tran Van Huu, the present Premier, was appointed, the French High Commissioner said to the press, "It is no crime to be pro-French." The Vietnamese do not agree.

For the last few months there has been virtually no functioning central government in Vietnam. Bao Dai spent the summer at Cannes. Tran Van Huu, who is Minister for Foreign Affairs, National Defense, and the Interior, as well as Premier, went to France in June for the purpose, it was said, of wringing further economic concessions from the French and returned only after the recent French reverses. During all this period the government has been stalemated; it has not outlined a budget or sent diplomatic representatives abroad.

The French seem to have little hope that the Bao Dai regime can be revitalized and made an effective adjunct to the military effort against the Viet Minh. They can scarcely be expected, therefore, to grant it additional concessions. Vietnamese in the government point out that the French criticize it for failures and weaknesses which stem directly from conditions imposed by France. They claim that only an independent nationalist government can attract capable administrators, detach non-Communist support from Ho, and tackle the problems of the country. Even Tran Van Huu, who is a French citizen, is now demanding complete independence as the only method of combating the Viet Minh.



The bulk of the Viet Minh are not Communists, but Ho's government and army are increasingly controlled by Communists. Moreover, every month the war drags on increases Ho's opportunities to make converts to communism. The grant of full independence, it is widely believed, even at this late date, would greatly facilitate the prosecution of the war by depriving him of his chief rallying cry for continued resistance. Just the promise of independence in two years, if the commitment were guaranteed by the U. N., would draw masses of nationalists from the Viet Minh.

A realistic reassessment of the military and political situation in Vietnam by both France and the United States is certainly overdue. The American decision to back the French-sponsored Bao Dai government seems to have been made on the theory that the United States must fight communism in Indo-China whether or not the effort has a good chance of success. Washington at the time was receiving extremely limited information from Indo-China and was influenced by the judgment of Malcolm MacDonald, British Commissioner General for Southeast Asia, who is naturally aware of the threat that would be offered to Malaya by a Communist-dominated regime in Vietnam. American efforts to get the French to make bolder political concessions to Vietnamese nationalism have been met by resistance in Saigon and Paris, to which the State Department has generally acceded. Unfortunately, concessions which might have borne fruit six months ago would probably now have little effect—nothing short of complete independence will satisfy the Vietnamese people. Unless events take some unforeseen turn for the better, the United States may easily find itself involved in another débâcle on the China pattern.

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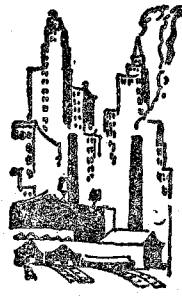

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Admiral's Lament

A FEW weeks ago Admiral Ben Moreel, war-time Seabee commander and now the very vocal boss of the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation, declared that a major obstacle to the expansion of his industry was its "depressed price structure." It was essential, he told a Pittsburgh regional meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute, "for the industry to achieve economic equilibrium with the rest of the economy" if its "investment status" was to be restored so that it could "compete with other industries for risk capital."

To clinch his point, the Admiral contrasted the earnings of nine steel companies with those of six automobile companies and asserted that whereas the first group earned a mere 8.20 per cent on their net worth, the second obtained no less than 19.54 per cent. Assuming these figures are accurate, they seem to me to provide evidence of profiteering in the automobile industry but hardly proof that steel companies are headed for the bankruptcy courts. However, I am prepared to admit that in recent years the steel industry's price policies have been comparatively restrained. At the top of the first post-war boom in 1948, and again in the last six months, it could have upped prices more than it did and still found plenty of eager customers. But according to Admiral Moreel, there was nothing really voluntary about this moderation: it was due, not to the steel directors' public spirit, but rather to "the cumulative, coercive effect of the hue and cry which arises from government officials, columnists, commentators, editors, economists, and others whenever there is a rise in steel prices even of the most modest proportions."

As one columnist who has frequently written on the subject of steel profits and prices, I must thank the Admiral for this unintended tribute to the effectiveness of mine and other, mightier typewriters. It encourages me to raise new hues and cries at the present moment when steel corporations are making more money than at any other time since the uninhibited Coolidge era and yet are very clearly preparing to hoist prices at the earliest propitious moment. Already some of the smaller concerns are marking up special products, although the big firms are waiting until the conclusion of negotiations with the United Steel Workers provides them with a scapegoat.

There is reason to believe that the steelmasters' resistance to a moderate wage increase is not very serious. They do not want a strike at a time when operations are so profitable; they know they cannot remain out of the procession toward better pay; they expect to gain more by higher prices than they will lose by higher labor costs. "There is no economic justification" for any wage increase at this time, Eugene G. Grace told the press on October 26 after announcing bumper third-quarter earnings and a fat extra dividend. But, he added, "the steel industry cannot ignore what is taking place in practically all other industries" although "it can only go along on the basis that it will have to raise its prices to take care of increased costs." Irving S. Olds, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, agrees wholeheartedly with his leading competitor. "If the corporation has to increase wages substantially," he declared on October 31 after releasing a dazzling third-quarter statement and news of increased dividends, "an increase in prices is inevitable." Still more forthright is W. W. Sebald, president of the Armco Steel Corporation, who insists that, regardless of the outcome of wage negotiations, an addition of $5 a ton to the price of ingot steel is justified now.

After reading a succession of such statements, examination of the steel corporations' earning statements now being published daily provides something of a shock. In view of the gloomy tones of the industry's spokesmen, we expect to find some evidence that profits are declining. Instead, we note that they were uniformly larger in the first nine months of 1950 than in the corresponding period of 1949, and that in the last quarter there has been a marked acceleration in the rate of increase. Thus for the first nine months of this year Jones and Laughlin earned $26,481,048 against $20,038,918 in 1949, an improvement of rather more than 30 per cent. That was pretty good, but if we take the third quarter by itself we find that the increase was well over 100 per cent. Although not all companies have done quite so brilliantly as Admiral Moreel's, their returns show much the same trend.

It is difficult to see, then, why a wage increase averaging, say, 10 per cent would make price increases inevitable. Last December, soon after the United Steel Workers won their fight for pensions, the United States Steel Corporation, followed by the rest of the industry, raised prices by an average of $4 a ton and justified this action by reference to higher labor and other costs. At the time the union maintained that these higher costs, estimated at not more than $3 a ton, could easily be met out of profits and the savings accruing from greater labor efficiency. United States Steel spokesmen denied this contention, but the corporation's accounts for the first nine months of the current year definitely support it. Compared with the same period in 1949, the ratio of employment costs to gross receipts fell slightly from 39.9 to 39.7 per cent. Labor costs per ton of shipments increased by only $1.19 while gross receipts per ton advanced $3.59. As a result, net profits per ton increased from $8.56 to $16.61, despite much larger allocations to tax reserves, and with total shipments about 1,300,000 tons greater, company earnings expanded from $133,223,409 in the period January 1 to September 30, 1949, to $178,821,540 this year.

An increase in Big Steel's wage bill of 10 per cent would, it appears, increase its total operating costs by not more than about 4 per cent and might cut net profits per ton by about $2. This, according to my estimates, would still leave net earnings at very much the same level as in 1949, which was by no means a lean year for the stockholders of this or any other leading steel company. Consequently, unless the United Steel Workers win a pay increase of considerably more than 10 per cent, I cannot see that this industry, the profits of which are, in effect, being underwritten by government orders, has any right to advance prices.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

MacArthur: Man of Controversy

MACARTHUR: MAN OF ACTION. By Frank Kelley and Cornelius Ryan. Doubleday and Company. $2.

THE American who stimulates the greatest controversy today is General Douglas MacArthur. In that respect his main rivals are John L. Lewis and Thomas E. Dewey, and theirs are personalities of national rather than international controversy. The three men bear some resemblance to one another. Sometimes MacArthur sounds like a John L. Lewis who was graduated from West Point. Sometimes Dewey sounds like a MacArthur who went to law school. All three men inspire passionate loyalty in those closely associated with them and intense loathing in some of those who observe them.

Mr. Kelley and Mr. Ryan are also the authors of a book published three years ago called "Star-spangled Mikado," an account of MacArthur-occupied Japan as observed by two keen and critical newspapermen. Mr. Kelley is on the staff of the New York *Herald Tribune*. Mr. Ryan, now a *Newsweek* man, was in Japan as a correspondent for the London *Daily Telegraph*. Their new book is a quick, uncritical appraisal of MacArthur, designed to appeal to the admirers of his latest accomplishments in Korea and yet restrained enough in its eulogy to gain some readers among his detractors. The book is necessarily incomplete, for at seventy General MacArthur is still far from retirement.

The MacArthur who emerged from "Star-spangled Mikado" was a thin-skinned, dominating, able military leader, determined to set the Japanese people in the paths of democracy as he had mapped them out unilaterally. The MacArthur of the second book is much less formidable; the authors try, not altogether successfully, to make the subject less stiff. As correspondents in Japan the authors, like the majority of newsmen, chafed under the MacArthur type of censorship, which seemed to grow out of resentment on the part of the little men around MacArthur of anything short of canonization of their chief. Despite their disgust with attempts to glorify MacArthur *ad nauseam*, the authors have praise in both books for the General's personal magnetism. "He is the nearest approach to Winston Churchill that the United States has ever had," they write, "although he does not have Churchill's guile or Churchill's flair for politics." Nor, they might have added, does he have Churchill's resilient human warmth, excellent prose style, and hearty enjoyment of other ways of life besides the military. The authors imagine MacArthur as a viceroy of India—before Gandhi no doubt—or in the House of Lords, before socialism, attending in his spare time "charity matinees at the Haymarket or in his box for the Royal Philharmonic concerts at Albert Hall." However, MacArthur, as these two books demonstrate, "doesn't particularly care for the British," and is intensely American, even though his fellow-citizens do not know much about him from personal contact, since he has served them so long in distant places. Many Americans are inclined to be suspicious of what they have learned of General MacArthur's personality by way of his purple war communiqués, his inflated press agents in uniform, and his desire to write his own account of himself for posterity. In "Star-spangled Mikado" the authors told the revealing story, which admirals swore to them was true, of a team of visiting navy historians who asked the General for a statement to include in their official history: "MacArthur, they say, ruminated a while, puffed on the pipe, and remarked: 'No, gentlemen, I have nothing in particular to say to you, except that *your* history shall agree with *my* communiqués.'"

As an occupier General MacArthur quickly tried to abolish the worst features of thought control and emptied the jails of the crowds of the oppressed, including Japanese Communists. He cut the Emperor down to mortal size, and the Japanese, used to worshiping, transferred their adulation to MacArthur himself, who did not seem too displeased. He gets more fan mail than anyone else in Japan, and one Japanese woman so completely lost her head that she wrote of her desire to be his concubine. General MacArthur also tried to reform the economy of Japan. He ordered an agrarian-reform program and tried to break up the financial stranglehold of the Zaibatsu. But no more than war could capitalism be outlawed by decree. The MacArthur Charter made the Japanese renounce war "forever" and forbade them army, navy, or air force.

In "Star-spangled Mikado" Mr. Kelley and Mr. Ryan were skeptical about the endurance of MacArthur's political, economic, and military reforms for Japan. They were also critical of American tendencies, including those of MacArthur, "to play ball with some of the heirs apparent of the old order." Their second book was completed before MacArthur's descent on Formosa to visit the personification of the Asiatic old order, Chiang Kai-shek, and before the Star-spangled Mikado's rescript to the Veterans of Foreign Wars virtually urging annexation of Formosa by the United States. In 1947 Mr. Kelley and Mr. Ryan deplored the tendency of MacArthur unnecessarily to needle the Russians and turn Japan into a springboard for war against Russia. Japan, they maintained then, was a problem for the United Nations, not for the Big Four or Big Five, and certainly not an exclusive MacArthur problem. They find no room in their eulogistic book for deeper analysis and criticism of MacArthur's policies.

"MacArthur: Man of Action" is necessarily a different story from "Star-spangled Mikado" and is intended to be by Mr. Kelley and Mr. Ryan. They have had to eat remarkably few of their previous words, and they have solved the problem of consistency by well-measured omissions from their garland for MacArthur's triumphal arch. It is regrettable that while they have an interesting chapter in their new book entitled The Women Behind MacArthur, in which they portray his close relationship with an adoring mother, his unhappy first marriage, and his very happy second marriage, they omit any refer-

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ence to the Little Men Around MacArthur, to cite the heading of an important chapter in "Star-spangled Mikado." Some Americans are suspicious of the men around MacArthur and the men in favor of making him President, for there seems nothing in the General's character or political views to discourage the plaudits of such men as William Randolph Hearst and Robert R. McCormick.

There is no fawning on MacArthur in this book, and there is due respect. The authors seem to find their focus somewhere between those who consider MacArthur an arrogant proconsul, lacking in democratic instincts, ethics, and manners, and those who consider him a combination of Julius Caesar and Solon —hard as it is to find middle ground between two such extremes. And that is, perhaps, the greatest fault of their new book. The perspective and materials for historical objectivity about MacArthur are not yet available, and the animosities are prevalent, for MacArthur is still alive and commanding. All that is possible now is a hasty recapitulation of some aspects of the General's career. There is need for a book by constructive experts on MacArthur's policies and tactics.

Even as a human document this book falls short. MacArthur's innate aloofness baffles Mr. Kelley and Mr. Ryan as much as it does many other people in the world. And yet, like Thomas E. Dewey and John L. Lewis, MacArthur seems always to be wearing grease paint and waiting in the wings for his historic cue. Such men are as synthetic as old-fashioned tragedians and usually are only acceptable in words written by great events or writers. Whether he intends it or not, MacArthur often seems to be on the right hand of the Almighty, ordering Him where to point His index finger. The authors attribute this close association of MacArthur and the Deity to bad staff work, but the fact remains that General MacArthur delivers the speeches which his inflated ghosts write for him and which might make a more modest man choke. "My Army" and "My Air Force" may have been written by ill-advising sycophants, but the fact remains that General MacArthur consented to the publication of his word-blown communiqués complete with such imperial phrases. Like Thomas E. Dewey, MacArthur seems to have to make all the personality errors before he learns how to modify them. Perhaps the damaging lack is the sense of humor about himself, a lack which is also evident in Dewey and John L. Lewis.

One gets the impression from "MacArthur: Man of Action" of an immense and indefatigable patriot, and one is given some of the material for judging how he may have got that way. Throughout his great career General MacArthur has been eager for activity on the firing line and seems utterly unaware of fear. As a fighter he is always attractive as well as skilful. The portrait that emerges from the book, drawn in quick strokes, sometimes too purple, is of a lofty, lonely, able soldier who can be depended on both for brilliant strategic improvisation and for careful preparation for bold action, who works best with full dictatorial powers, and who cannot be depended on for the subtleties and niceties required for avoiding the wars he knows so well how to win.

M. R. WERNER

Boswell Goes to London

BOSWELL'S LONDON JOURNAL, 1762-1763. Edited by Frederick A. Pottle. McGraw-Hill Book Company. $5.

A FEW MONTHS after they met, Johnson spoke to Boswell about writing. "He advised me to keep a journal of my life, fair and undisguised. He said it would be a very good exercise, and would yield me infinite satisfaction when the ideas were faded from my remembrance." But the young Scotsman had already begun to keep a journal, which now, to the infinite satisfaction of our generation, is published for the first time. His other journals were privately printed about twenty years ago; this new one proves to the general reader that the greatest biographer in English literature is also one of its greatest diarists.

This, the earliest journal that Boswell kept for an extended period, covers his second visit to London, when he was twenty-two years old. In that span of nine months he strutted about in social and literary circles; he pulled strings unsuccessfully to get a commission in the Guards; he published, among other things, his letters to Erskine; he met the great lexicographer and charmed him; he debauched himself with women and wine, then regretted and did penance; and, most important, he kept a record of everything. His daily entries were compiled from memoranda that sometimes waited several days, and he sent weekly instalments to an intimate friend in Edinburgh. This last fact did not inhibit his frankness, for he was an exhibitionist to others as well as to himself. We are rarely reminded—as we so often are with letter-writers—that he is addressing an audience; we can see into and out of his sharp retentive mind.

As a visitor from the north he sees London with the alien's objectivity; yet he catches the hurly-burly, the political, social, and sexual excitements of the metropolis. But that is only incidental to the most powerful qualities of his journal, its drama and its personalities.

As a work of narrative art, which it is even with its factual materials, it has two main dramatic threads. The second —which begins only after the first is over—is his meeting and friendship with Johnson. Since he later refined and used this in the great "Life," it is so familiar to us today that it seems second-hand. The other thread, a most appropriate contrast, is the story of his affair with "Louisa," and it is spun out with the most compelling interest. She was a Mrs. Lewis, a minor player in the theater, discreet and genteel, the perfect partner for the cautious Scot who wished a liaison—"at least a winter's safe copulation," in his words. The teasing suspense before he achieved his bliss, the stinging dénouement, and the piquant final curtain are in the spirit of the highest comedy. Here a happy fortuity of circumstance lends itself to Boswell's great gifts. With his sense of timing, of dialogue, and of gesture he strings the series of events into a living and dramatic sequence.

There has never been any doubt since the publication of the "Life" that Boswell was a genius in objective biography. In that book he stayed in the background, except when he stepped forward to let Ursa Major knock him down. In his journal he displays his genius in objective autobiography. His fears, melancholies, vanity, religious doubt and complacency, stinginess, assorted raptures

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—he sets them all down with unabashed naivete. When he gives a weeping child sixpence he values "my own tenderness of disposition and willingness to relieve my fellow-creatures." Or when he is courting Louisa: "I thought that if I did not gain her affections, I would appear despicable to myself." He is constantly scrutinizing his feelings, motives, and thoughts. They are certainly not singular ones; what is singular is that he parades them before himself with the candor that ordinary human beings cannot command. It is his mania for introspection and self-revelation that is so striking.

He was a person in search of a personality, and like a man preparing for a masquerade he tried on as many disguises as he could find. "I have discovered," he writes, "that we may be in some degree whatever character we choose. Besides, practice forms a man to anything." Among the characters he tried to assume there are two recurring types, each of which satisfied a side of his ambivalent nature. One is a sober and reserved citizen; here he is the grave Mr. Addison (or the Spectator or Cato). He goes to Child's Coffee House every Saturday to take down the dialogue of some typical citizens. He virtuously waits on Johnson, the Great Moralist, whom he visits after enjoying the company of John Wilkes, the great immoralist. In this other role his model is Captain Macheath, the swaggering hero of "The Beggar's Opera." He is a wit of Charles the Second's time, a Man of Pleasure desired by many fine women, a versatile debauchee. Sometimes both roles are simultaneous, as when he thinks of wenching while at church service. "What a curious, inconsistent thing is the mind of man!" is his own comment.

That is the key to the fascination of the journal; it is the drama of a sensibility, of a character in search of himself. In the realm of ideas Boswell is shallow, for his profundities are the platitudes of eighteenth-century thought. But in his record of the vagaries of the human mind he captures some of its most powerful and elusive elements.

Something must be said about the volume, the first of a projected publication that may run to fifty volumes. As a book for the general reader it is excellent in every way—tactfully and efficiently edited, conveniently and handsomely designed. The spelling, capitalization, and punctuation are normalized, and the annotations minimized. It is a good model for the other volumes in the popular edition.

ROBERT HALSBAND

A New Master

MENABONI'S BIRDS. By Athos and Sara Menaboni. Rinehart and Company. $10.

BIRD painting in the great tradition involves a special combination of art and science. Even the layman in both fields can immediately recognize the fact that for once the realistic painter must paint what he knows as well as what he sees. What is wanted is more than an impression, however true or vivid, because the facts of color and pattern as the ornithologist knows them must be clearly distinguished. Yet if the pictures are to be more than merely textbook "plates" they must also have qualities usually achieved only by the artist free to disregard what has not struck his attention or what he does not want to use. The present extraordinarily handsome volume offers the work of a new master in the field who seems to have been hailed instantaneously by bird students and art galleries alike. There are thirty-two full-page pictures in color, thirteen in black and white, and many more of smaller size. There is also a longish text supplied by the artist's wife, as well as notes on the subjects—which are mostly the commoner Eastern birds. Nothing is said of the printing technique used for the color plates, but they give the general effect of the old engravings and are certainly among the most beautiful produced in the course of regular commercial publishing. All in all, this is a very generous ten dollars' worth.

Mrs. Menaboni's text tells the story of her husband's consuming passion and of a struggle which ended in great success sooner and more decisively than such stories usually do. He was born in Italy, fought in the First World War,

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by WILLIAM GARDNER SMITH

ANGER AT INNOCENCE

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and then came to America as a crew member of a ship whose master was a friend of the family. For a short time he supported himself painting candles at $12 a week; presently he established himself as a painter of murals—apparently chiefly for public buildings—and married an American girl. In Italy he had grown up in a family where there were always animals and birds about. In America he started painting birds for fun and soon afterward found himself daring, with his wife's encouragement, to give up an established profession for a hobby whose commercial future seemed more than dubious. Finally Mrs. Menaboni shipped a collection of pictures to a friend who had agreed to show them about. Hardly a week later this friend wired that the American Museum of Natural History wanted an exhibition, after another week that the National Audubon Society wanted one also, and after a third week that the Kennedy Gallery would offer a show. Before long a Menaboni bird had apparently become one of the things for a collector to have.

At present the artist and his wife live in the country near Atlanta in a house which is part studio, part private zoo, and part hospital for birds and beasts in distress. Mrs. Menaboni, who before her marriage had no special interest in animals, has surrendered completely to them now and with her husband apparently thinks of nothing else. It all makes an interesting story as she tells it with simple, enthusiastic directness, but there is a reason why I almost wish I had studied the pictures carefully before I knew the story behind them. As it is, I can never know how much that story is responsible for my feeling that the excellence of the paintings is the result of something more than skilful, scientific draftsmanship plus a beautiful placing of outlines and colors in relation to one another. Audubon, I believe, usually painted from dead specimens which he shot himself; Mr. Menaboni from pets, refugees, or temporary captives. Perhaps it is not merely a fancy that his are among the happiest bird pictures I have ever seen.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

A controversial figure

Hugo Black

By CHARLOTTE WILLIAMS

HARRIED by the press for his past membership in the Ku Klux Klan, distrusted by minority groups, feared by business interests, Justice Black took up his Supreme Court duties under trying conditions. None the less, his appointment marked the beginning of a new viewpoint in its deliberations. Examining his record, pro and con, Charlotte Williams throws a penetrating light on the real Justice Black and on the important changes in the court's constitutional theory—changes in which he has played a leading role. $3.50

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American Editor

HORACE GREELEY: VOICE OF THE PEOPLE. By William Harlan Hale. Harper and Brothers. $4.

"MY LIFE," wrote Horace Greeley as he neared death, "has been a fevered march." Hectic his career was, but it was more like a disorganized ramble than a parade. Earlier, in a whimsical mood, the New York *Tribune* editor described himself as "bent like a hoop, and so rocking in his gait that he walks down both sides of the street at once." His mind and his career were as wobbly as his walk; he ambled down both sides of all streets. Author of the "Go West, young man" slogan, Greeley himself went East, founded the New York *Tribune*, and made his fortune. Proponent of Fourieristic socialism, he promoted conservative Whiggery and helped Thurlow Weed run New York's corrupt political machine. An astonishingly successful newspaperman, he had pitiful yearnings to become a farmer on his sodden acres at Chappaqua. Preacher of Yankee thrift, he invested thousands in "Winchester's Hypophosphates and Specific Remedies" and other blue-sky operations, and idly permitted his *Tribune* stock to dribble through his fingers. Advocate of peace and defender of the South's right to secede, he helped precipitate the Civil War and with his "On to Richmond" demand brought bloody defeat to the cause he loved. A high-tariff man, a devotee of temperance, and a founder of the Republican Party, Greeley was nominated for President in 1872 by a combination of free-trade Liberal Republicans and Tammany, pro-liquor Democrats.

A career so contradictory and confused offers major difficulties to a biographer, but in "Horace Greeley: Voice of the People" William Harlan Hale has treated his subject with great skill, understanding, and sympathy. One would not perhaps agree with his publishers that this is the "definitive biography" of Greeley, for Mr. Hale's book, however appealing as biography, lacks precision and insight as history. When Mr. Hale writes of Greeley himself, he is almost always sound and perceptive; when he sketches the background against which his hero operated, he is impressionistic, thin, and too often erroneous.

Despite this fact, Mr. Hale's "Greeley" is exciting and provocative reading, certainly one of the best biographies we have of any American editor. This is the first time Greeley's character has really been made intelligible. Many of the editor's crotchets—his old white hat so persistently worn, his baggy, Quaker-farmer appearance, his sputtering profanities—Mr. Hale credits to deliberate self-dramatization; after all, Greeley was the contemporary and friend of those other two great showmen, P. T. Barnum and Henry Ward Beecher. Here for the first time, told with restraint and sympathy, is the story of Greeley's unhappy marriage, in which duty kept both parties technically faithful and bitterly miserable. As a study of an editor in action, Mr. Hale's portrait is revealing. One secret of the *Tribune's* success was Greeley's tolerance of diversity. A reporter sneered that "Horace is constantly . . . letting things be done in the paper which he says he does not approve of," but that was Greeley's way of keeping intelligent men on his staff. From apprenticeship in his offices came the best newspapermen of his and the next generation—Charles A. Dana, Henry J. Raymond, John Hay, G. W. Smalley, Whitelaw Reid, and a score of others. The outstanding thing about Greeley's editorial career was not

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that he ran a successful newspaper but that even in success Greeley continued to be an undisguised crusader. According to Mr. Hale, he was "the one editor in our history who has made liberalism pay."

Mr. Hale's "Greeley" is important not merely as a discussion of one man's personal and psychological conflicts but as a case study of the nineteenth-century American liberal's confusion. Greeley and his friends knew that America, land of promise, was brimful of inequity and injustice. "All agree," asserted a delegate to the 1844 "world convention" of reformers in New York, "that society is sick—very sick—but few can agree as to the nature of the complaint." Like most of the humanitarians of his day, Greeley desperately feared political action along economic lines; parties, he insisted, should have neither sectional nor economic constituencies. He therefore worked for such humbug parties as the Whigs, who stood for Tippecanoe, for the log cabin, for hard cider, for everything and for nothing. Inhibited from effective political action, the Greeley type of reformer could only wander about looking for panaceas, which the editor himself found successively in Fourierism, in free-homestead legislation, in prohibition, and in abolition of slavery. The Republican Party, that combination of high-minded anti-slavery men dedicated to principle and grasping business leaders devoted to profit, that union of puritan and blackleg, was a product of the liberal predicament. Greeley never realized the futility of his panaceas, for after the war, when it was clear that principle had lost to profit, that Republicanism had become a synonym for rapacity, he still held to his non-sectional, non-economic party scheme. The result was that weird alliance of loot and uplift, the Liberal Republican Party. Its candidate in 1872, one of the worst defeated Presidential aspirants in history, Greeley died just after the election, "the most utterly, hopelessly wretched and undone of all who ever lived." "I have done more harm and wrong than any man who ever saw the light of day," he lamented in a farewell letter that might serve as a dying testament of nineteenth-century utopian reform; "and yet, I take God to witness that I have never intended to wrong or harm anyone. . . ."

DAVID DONALD

Planning for Freedom

FREEDOM, POWER, AND DEMOCRATIC PLANNING. By Karl Mannheim. Oxford University Press. $5.

THIS volume is the first of several which will make available the unpublished manuscripts of Karl Mannheim, who died in 1947. The editors are Hans Gerth and Ernest K. Bramsted; they have been assisted and guided by Julia Mannheim, Agnes Schwarzschild, and Adolph Lowe.

Mannheim's work is sensitively reflective of his personal experience. "Ideology and Utopia," first published in 1929, is primarily a scientific investigation into the "outmoded ways of thought which stop short of meeting present reality," termed ideologies, and liberal or Communist projections of hope into the present, or utopias. In 1936, after the author had left Germany for England, he added an introductory section and appended a synoptic chapter on "the sociology of knowledge." By 1940 Mannheim had lived seven years in England and had seen and evaluated the fact that "spontaneous conformity could coexist with the freedom of many experimenting groups." His second major book, "Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction," is therefore largely a statement of the sociology of democratic action as suggested by a British frame of reference. But it is significant that from the beginning Mannheim believed that scientific analysis could not deal adequately with ultimate goals or permanent values; this conviction stimulated the writing, in 1943, of "Diagnosis of Our Time." Here the influence of T. S. Eliot, J. H. Oldham, and Middleton Murry led to a preliminary exploration of the relationship among scientific sociology, pragmatic processes, religion in general, and the particular usefulness of Christianity.

"Freedom, Power, and Democratic Planning" opens with a diagnosis of the present social situation. Technological advances continue to move humanity toward the "Great Society"; but as this process takes place, the older group controls—tradition, custom, the local community—are losing power. Social and individual anomy is increasingly evident. The solution offered by liberalism is merely an ideology of free choice, and competition for both goods and ideas. Liberalism, however, is unaware that both the freedom of choice and the market operation are no longer very real. (Mannheim's equation of liberalism with the chaos of absolute laissez faire may be extreme.) Other historical solutions are offered by the totalitarian systems; fascism bases its authoritarianism upon a pessimistic view of man's capacity for social life, while communism, equally grounded in command and obedience, has the minor grace of a theoretical belief in perfectibility.

The "third way" which Mannheim explores and advocates is that of democratic planning: *"planning for freedom . . . social justice . . . cultural standards . . . planning that counteracts the dangers of a mass society* by coordination of the means of social control but interfering only in cases of institutional or moral deterioration defined by collective criteria; *planning for balance* between centralization and dispersion of power; planning for gradual transformation of society *in order to encourage the growth of personality;* in short, *planning but not regimentation."*

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how democratic planning may be carried on in a fluid society whose institutions are undergoing both rapid and profound change.

The central thought of the author lies in the concept of integration. Not by authority, or by leveling down, or even by compromise, but rather by cooperative organic integration of the desires of both functional and sectional groups, can man be really free. In general, autonomy and variety of exploratory choice should be maintained at the local level. The lines of integrative procedure become more important as one moves upward toward larger, federative social structures.

The concluding section, New Man—New Values, explores the patterns of democratic behavior and personality characteristically present in a social order devoted to the Third Way. There is provocative discussion of the paradox involved in the idea of "indoctrination for democracy."

Some readers will perhaps wish that the author took more account of social psychology. For instance, Mannheim observes that institutional manipulations during the war brought about full employment, the excess-profits tax, and rationing and price control. This is true, and interesting, but the important question is why two of these useful group controls were hastily junked by the United States Congress. Or one may feel that Mannheim's formally complete logical structure would in some places have been helped by a check against the record of history; he might have avoided an occasional naivete. Thus he wonders if democracies may not have set up a new institution, an "Order . . . a voluntary organization, recruited from the most prominent representatives of various strata and elements of the community . . . because it remains outside the contest for power, this body might gain great moral prestige and become the 'conscience of the country.'" One hears faint applause from afar—Plato, More, Bacon—but it has never come off.

The most important area of debate with the author is likely to center around his concern with ends, goals, permanent values, and truth. He speaks of "sociological purpose"—a rather questionable term. He assigns to instrumentalism a utilitarian, mundane role and reiterates his earlier objection that pragmatism never meets the question "Efficiency for what?" Religion, apparently, is the final answer. But this leads to clashes of approach if not of concept. In one place he defines the common good, mechanistically, as "the end product of the parallelogram of forces bargaining for power." Elsewhere he says: "Only through satisfaction of these deep-rooted aspirations (that there is a Purpose in what we are doing, and that there is a Personal Power to whom man can appeal) can man develop the sense of belonging in a world where he can find his place and where there is an order that supports him and dispels his anxieties." Here is genuine contradiction.

The general public will not find this an easy book; each new point is developed with excessive repetition of previously established arguments, and the language is at times needlessly abstract. These considerations, of course, will not affect the professional student of social structure. And organizational and stylistic defects aside, there is no question that one is dealing with a compendious, profoundly analytical, and brilliantly original mind. G. LOUIS JOUGHIN

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

THE heroine of "Hilda Crane" (Coronet Theater) is a neurotic young woman whose difficulties stem from the fact that she is the unloved and unwanted daughter of a strong-minded mother. Having gone from one unsatisfactory relationship to another and from job to job, in iniquitous New York, Hilda has finally returned in despair to her mother's house in Winona, Illinois, and it is at this point that the play begins.

The mother takes over. Under her tutelage Hilda (Jessica Tandy) cuts short a renewed romance with an assistant professor at the local university—another neurotic whose fascination is not made manifest and whose right to represent assistant professors seems to be derived from the current derogatory radio-and-movie version of the breed—and settles for a burly, self-made local citizen who has made a killing with a

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"new-type" lawnmower. The self-made man's lowly and plain-spoken mother, who has, so to speak, taken in washing to make him possible, tries to stop the marriage but dies conveniently, and Hilda sets out to be a good wife.

Her husband builds a "home" for her (without so much as consulting her wishes, which seems very unlikely even in Winona, Illinois) complete with all the gadgets and all the bad taste available. They have a child. But it doesn't work. The professor returns, Hilda capitulates and goes to an inn with him, comes home, tells her mother she is right—the mother, that is—and takes a whole bottle of sleeping pills.

"Hilda Crane" is a case history, more or less authentic in itself, which fails, dismally, to rise to the level of drama or literature, which is to say of art.

Art

MANNY FARBER

THE first exhibits of the season indicate that the avant-garde painters of eight years ago—Pollock, Poussette-Dart Gorky—are winning their battle with the dealers. In 1943 only one ridiculed outpost—Art of this Century Gallery—majored in abstract and symbolic Expressionists, while today's scene is dominated by painters who affect a "quickened subjectivity" with slashing lines, untoned harmonies, all-over patterning, and "finished-in-one-sweep" application. However, unexpected things have happened to the raw, rebellious art of 1943, whose excitement sprang from forming flat, unbounded space, using the "accidents" rubbed out by realists, and making pure paint their subject matter.

A current show of vanguard art ("United States and France," Janis Gallery) is filled with painters who resemble the hero of "What Makes Sammy Run?" in their aggressive flight through enterprising, diverting, noisy canvases. This horde of abstractionists now pours sophisticated craftsmanship into a compromising "channel" designed to express, above everything else, speed. While fragmenting and dispersing the centered composition of realistic painting, the artists have reverted to an academic unity by controlling the swiftly sailing shapes with an arbitrary framework of trans-canvas ducts, or channels. These paintings vary between streaming repetitions of a single linear form (Ferren, Pollock) and hyphenated compositions (Brooks, Pallut, Hofmann) that suggest much objectivity but basically use every line and color as a speed-up connection in an endlessly linked journey over anonymous terrain. The spectator feels that there is something more in both types of design than ambiguous shapes and roads but that he is moving so fast he gets only a fleeting, bird's-eye view of what the artist means to express.

The large de Kooning at Janis's—a passionate, blonde nude established on canvas like a Cimabue altarpiece—has the warm density and abandon of great painting but draws to a too quick glib completion. The pinkish-white figure is half obliterated by a maelstrom of black lines which lends a false excitement to a static, familiar composition. These lines, caught between illustration and ferocity, hide their glibness with an excess of shock and movement. Scrawled on a silk-like surface streaked with Oriental-Italian tones that are both cheap and magnificent—shocking pink, ripe orange, Naples yellow—the painting never probes deeper than a hand-written declaration. Tending to skim color over shapes, stretching forms into directional lines, using the brush to move color rather than to fill form, de Kooning exemplifies the distressing trend in abstraction toward linear rather than formal art.

This speed fetish, demanding split-second decisions and minimal torment, makes shrewdness the prime weapon of the vanguard artist. Franz Kline (Egan Gallery), housepainting a huge irregular grate or a figure like a sloppy "g" on staring white, achieves a malignant shock that is over almost before it starts. The first impression of Kline's canvases is refreshing. A heroic artist achieves a Wagnerian effect with an almost childish technique. It is the blunt, awkward, ugly shape that counts, not finicky detailing or complication. But these yawning white backgrounds and hulking black images hide a nimble rather than a primitive craftsmanship, clever at making facetious emotion appear morbidly violent and suave brushing seem untrained.

Another demon, Hans Hofmann (Kootz Gallery), uses a battering technique to paint power-house abstractions that dive like an Army fullback over a hot craggy surface. The seventy-year-old painter—he looks like Santa Claus—produces art described as "optimistic," "happy," and held up as a lesson to neurotic young painters. His paintings suggest a kindergarten bulletin board on which kids have pasted colored papers with little hands that had slopped through paint pots. Actually they are hard and brutal expressions that in trying to strike down the spectator, gallery

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room, and world outside become a solid, vigorous attack on identity.

The clue to Hofmann's misanthropy is indicated in work that clears the world of every individuality but space. His apparent objects or forms—intermingled trapezoids, spearheads—are simply negative spaces of no substance, forcing out and solidifying the surrounding area. This over-play on space hollows the thick layer of harsh, German color by making it seem aerated. Even more surprising is his use of shrieking color balanced so that each hue is confused by its complementary, leaving the spectator with recall of the impact but not the identity of each color.

Hofmann has influenced every good modernist from Pollock to Motherwell. His ideas ("a brush is a great limitation"; "if I lose my ground, I have overshot my aim"; "at every stage a picture should be finished") have made startling swiftness the cause of much pat, perfected modernism, replacing sensuality with shallow shock. But Hofmann is one of the few slashing abstractionists whose work, though sophisticated, still seems a rugged, almost homely pursuit of gouging truths.

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B. H. HAGGIN

THE Elaine Music Shop's recording (EMS-110) of Schubert's Sonata in C minor played by Webster Aitken is one of the year's great events. First, because of the seldom-heard work—the first movement which, after a grandiose opening, quiets down for a characteristically lovely "second subject," and later builds up tremendous sustained power in the development; the slow movement in which loveliness and sublimity again alternate with dramatic power; the delightful scherzo; the finale which begins with deceptive rambling casualness but quiets down, after some hubbub, for one of the extraordinary episodes that Schubert knew how to contrive: the wonderful passage in E flat at the end of the exposition which breaks off inconclusively for a moment of silence and suspense, then the breathtaking B major of the beginning of a development which again gradually builds up terrific sustained power. A work, in sum, in which one hears the duality of Schubert that I have talked about—the iron-like power alternating with the relaxed lyricism.

In addition the recording gives the public throughout the country an opportunity to hear piano-playing which I have also talked about and characterized as some of the finest there is to be heard. It is outstanding, for one thing, as mere playing of the piano—in its complete but unobtrusive mastery of the resources of the instrument, its adequacy, therefore, to every demand of the music, its unfailing consideration for the instrument in the use of those resources, its unfailing beauty of sound, therefore, in the greatest sonority. And it is outstanding also as playing of music. One hears in Aitken's playing what one is aware of in the music of Berlioz, the performance of Toscanini—a mind always in action; and one hears it in the way sounds do not merely succeed each other, but every sound—in melody, bass, inner texture—is coming from the sound before it and going on to the sound after it as an active member of a continuous progression.

And finally the recording offers this playing in a performance of Schubert's sonata. It is playing whose own continuity tightens up the occasional looseness in the music and makes of each movement—most remarkably in the case of the rambling finale—a coherent entity; it is playing which also realizes the duality in the music—which, that is, builds up the sustained power I have mentioned but also relaxes for the plasticity, sensitiveness, and grace of the lyric passages. The relaxation is in fact a surprise: Aitken has played Schubert with phraseological tensions that were excessive for the character of the music; but in this performance the only instance of such tensions is the distortions in the grandiose opening of the first movement, which by their exaggeration of what cannot stand exaggeration weaken what they are intended to strengthen. That is the only defect I hear in the performance.

On my machine the recorded sound is good when bass and treble are set at minimum. I suspect that faulty transference from the tape is responsible for the insufficient volume in the climax of the slow movement. Surfaces are not quiet.

Schumann's Piano Quintet is on an RCA Victor LP record, with Rubinstein doing the most beautiful and discreet piano-playing I have heard from him in an excellent performance with the Paganini Quartet. Bass must be reduced.

I reported on Alexander Schneider's recorded performances of Bach's Sonatas Nos. 1 and 2 for unaccompanied violin on a Mercury record last spring, and have only now heard his performances of the Partita No. 1 (MG-10018), Partita No. 2 (MG-10019), and Partita No. 3 and Sonata No. 3 (MG-10020). Once more I find the Chaconne of the Partita No. 2 and the Prelude of the Partita No. 3 magnificent pieces of music, but the rest dull. Nor, this time, is the dull music made exciting by the style of the playing, as in the case of the recent Szigeti recording of the Sonata No. 3. I have long admired Schneider as a violinist and a musician; but I find myself unable to

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accept in these works the unsteadiness of pace and the things he does with dynamics, accentuation, and phraseological inflection. The one straightforward and effective performance, for me, is that of the Partita No. 3. The recorded sound is a little sharp; surfaces are in varying degrees noisy.

Ossy Renardy's performance of the Sonata No. 3 on a London record (LPS-259) has some unusual (for him) distortion of phrase-outline in the first movement, but is straight-forward elsewhere. Adolf Busch's bowing produces distortion of phrase-outline in the fugue, in another performance of the work on a Columbia record, but is good elsewhere. On the reverse side of this record is the LP version of the previously issued Bach D minor Concerto played by Eugene Istomin and the Busch Chamber Players. As it happens Szigeti's wonderful performance of a violin version of the concerto is on the reverse side of *his* record of the Sonata No. 3; and his is the record to get for both works.

London, which issued Bach's Brandenburg Concertos Nos. 4 and 6 played by the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Karl Münchinger, has now issued their performances of Nos. 1 and 5 (LLP-222) and Nos. 2 and 3 (LPS-226). They are very good—though not as sensitive and light as those of the Busch Chamber Players fifteen years ago (it looks as though none ever will be); their recorded sound is sharp; and the trumpet in No. 2 is too loud.

CONTRIBUTORS

M. R. WERNER, author of a number of books, is now at work on a biography of LaGuardia.

ROBERT HALSBAND, assistant professor of English at Hunter College, is the editor of "The Nonsense of Common Sense" by Lady Mary Wortley Montague.

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G. LOUIS JOUGHIN is co-author with Edmund M. Morgan of "The Legacy of Sacco and Vanzetti."

Coming Soon in The Nation

The European View of American Art

An Exchange Between

Clement Greenberg and David Sylvester

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Democratic Forces in Asia

Dear Sirs: In his review of my book, "Truman, Stalin, and Peace" (*The Nation,* October 21) Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr professes not to know what is meant by "truly democratic forces" in the backward Asiatic countries. This seems remarkable. The truly democratic forces in those countries comprise the people who want to see agrarian reform, increased production, a fair wage-price ratio, and an intelligent and enforced system of taxation under representative government. That is why the Rhee government in Korea, which he apparently regards as the only alternative to communism, is not truly democratic.

It is alarming when a man of Dr. Niebuhr's eminence calls it "theoretical" to support democratic forces abroad on the ground that they comprise "only scattered individuals." He seems unaware of the enormous numbers of Asiatics—and of Europeans too—who would welcome a political democracy that is based on economic fair play. His attitude is reminiscent of the tired negativism that many Americans fell into before the Chinese civil war—the notion that we had a choice only of extremes and it was impossible to organize a strong democratic force in China. The main reason that such a force was not organized is that we, as a nation, did not have the will to try.

Incidentally, the price of the book was misstated. The correct figure is $2.75.

ALBERT Z. CARR

Washington, October 19

Can They Be Organized?

Dear Sirs: I rather sympathize with Mr. Carr's peeve because I used my review to challenge a liberal formula for the solution of the world's ills. I do not question that there are an enormous number of individuals in Asia "who would welcome political democracy that is based upon economic fair play," but I doubt whether they are organized or can be organized as a "third force." In China the Democratic League was not a sufficiently powerful group to offer us an alternative base for our policies. General Marshall had to play with the idea of a united-front government including the Kuomintang and the Communists. His critics now hold this solution against him, but the solution of the critics is an even worse one—the support of a corrupt government through thick and thin. In Indo-China the alternative was between a half-Communist, half-nationalist revolutionary movement and the French-supported government. Perhaps if we had aided the revolutionaries they would now be less Communist than they are. But in any event they are now Communist and we are caught supporting Bao Dai. There is no third force we can support as an alternative, and we can probably reform the Bao Dai regime as little as we did the Chinese regime. Mr. Carr's own book reveals the futility of our efforts to reform the Chinese Nationalists.

Such considerations may appear like "tired negativism," but there is also the danger that we ascribe omnipotence to American policy and encourage the notion that we can create and organize adequate social forces in the vast convulsions of Asia. Mr. Carr thinks rightly that the Rhee government is not "truly democratic" in the sense that its social and economic policy was inadequate. But was it not "democratic" in the sense of being, broadly speaking, "representative"? Do we not face the paradox that General MacArthur's undemocratic occupation produced a more "democratic," that is to say, more just land-reform program in Japan than the Rhee government produced in Korea? But there are not many places in Asia where we can interfere as we did in Japan, with as good results. Personally I hope for a good deal of United Nations "imperialism"—supervision and control of nations such as Korea which for the moment lack the internal social forces to reconstruct their economic life. But that still does not cover the problem of the Philippines, where a representative government is also inadequate; or of Indonesia where a sizable Communist-Moslem rebellion has developed; or of India for that matter, where communism seems to be making greater progress than socialism.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

New York, October 30

Sweden and the Pact

Dear Sirs: The interesting letter on Scandinavia by Jerome Davis (*The Nation,* September 9) contains a statement which is unjust to Sweden and should be corrected. "In Denmark," Mr. Davis

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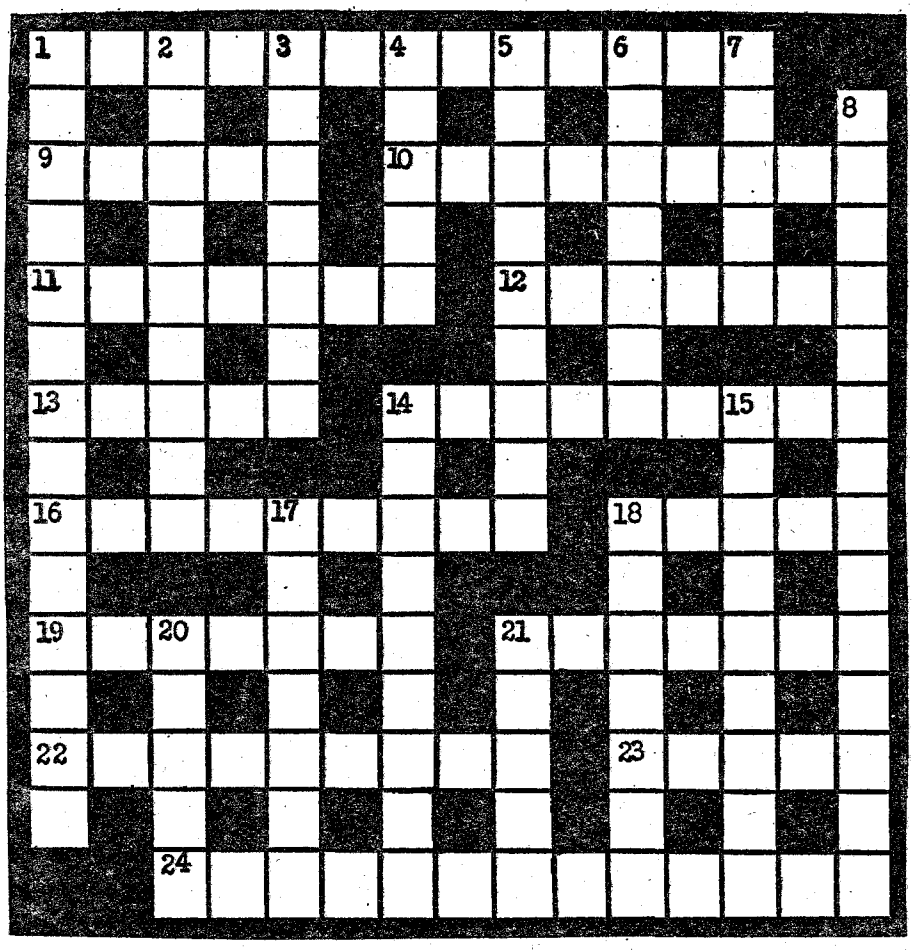
Crossword Puzzle No. 387

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Meet for an old-fashioned revival. (8, 5)
9 How the French take on when we get up around it!
10 Fire the clergy for penance.
11 Acts ready to strike again, but finds things repellent.
12 Time to go to press? (4, 3)
13 The common part of anyone's language.
14 Full of odd notions.
16 The polite might make this be so nice a change.
18 To boast, by the sound of it, of a Southern general.
19 Strike a space bar.
21 Sweet and low? Swing it!
22 Silver iodide, or dry ice?
23 More like sun-tan than O. D. of W. W. I.
24 Low rank of comprehension?

DOWN

1 Honest dice players? (6, 8)
2 A nice tune, to put things clearly.
3 Bobby told it to forbear screaming.
4 Eskimo rubbers?
5 Offering responsible for base advances.
6 They carried the fasces.
7 How Doaks is changed since he had so many arms!
8 Sounds like bleaching for the bedclothes! (5, 9)
14 Pale, a manufacturer and merchant.
15 Tin-pan serenade.
17 Raged, perhaps with 8.
18 What the British mean by brakes (for Eddie, perhaps?).
20 He fights back up around an oil center.
21 No sign of the editor? Yes, a barely recognizable trace.

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 386

ACROSS:—1 MANUAL TRAINING; 8 NIGHTINGALES; 10 ENTERPRISE; 11 HALO; 13 WEALTH; 14 ENJOINED; 16 EVINCING; 17 GROTTO; 19 CANT; 20 SEMICIRCLE; 22 HEAVENS ABOVE; 23 UNDERSTATEMENT.

DOWN:—1 MONKEY WRENCHES; 2 NEGOTIATIONS; 3 ANTARCTICA; 4 TENORS; 5 AMASSING; 6 NEED; 7 OXFORD MOVEMENT; 9 MAGNETIC POLE; 12 COORDINATE; 15 UNNERVES; 18 SIENNA; 21 FETE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

writes, "many of the people feel critical of Sweden for refusing to join a Scandinavian alliance, thereby in effect forcing the Danish government to enter the Atlantic Pact."

Sweden made no such refusal. A study of the Scandinavian press for the months of January and February, 1949, will show that Sweden took the lead in the attempt then made to form a Scandinavian defense association. Sweden, with thirteen divisions to Norway's three and Denmark's half-division, offered to share its man-power, military equipment, and production facilities with its two neighbors in the event of an attack. Conferences by Cabinet members looking to this end started in a spirit of optimism, but no agreement could be reached. The crucial question was whether military material could be had from abroad if the three countries' common war potential should prove insufficient.

An editorial in the important Danish newspaper *Social-Demokraten* of February 20, 1949, indicates that it was Norway's hesitation that brought the negotiation to an end. I quote: "The final tiny spark of hope for a Scandinavian defense association was extinguished yesterday when the Norwegian Labor Party decided to throw its support to the other Norwegian organizations which favored adherence to the Atlantic Pact."

Denmark soon followed Norway in joining the Atlantic Pact. So far Sweden has refrained from this step, because it is convinced that its chances of being spared the horrors of war are greater if it remains outside.

DANIEL BIRGERS

San Francisco, Cal., October 20

Conspiracy of Silence

Dear Sirs: Of course George Seldes, editor of the late *In Fact*, complains of a conspiracy of silence. The reason anything in the way of a left-wing publication is so hard to establish and keep going is that the channels of communication to potential readers are almost wholly blocked.

It is easy to see why the commercial press should be a party to this conspiracy of silence, but the attitude of liberal publications like *The Nation* is a little more difficult to understand. You may have had occasion to mention *In Fact* before the obituary notice in your issue of October 21, but certainly not often or extensively. Now you say you are sorry to see it go—as everyone to the left of center must be. Why didn't you

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take a more positive attitude toward *In Fact* while it was still alive?

Another case in point, if I may say so, is the *Monthly Review*, edited by Leo Huberman and myself. The *Review* has been going for a year and a half now, and I do not recall ever seeing it mentioned in *The Nation*. Why? Is it because you think there is no room in this country today for an independent-socialist journal of opinion? Do you consider the *Review* qualitatively beneath notice? Or are you perhaps saving your comments for the obituary?

I notice that you had space for a fairly long comment on the advent of the *Freeman*, edited by John Chamberlain and Henry Hazlitt, and devoted to expounding the philosophy of laissez faire and devil take the hindmost. Do you blame struggling left-wing editors for complaining that they are the victims of a conspiracy of silence?

PAUL M. SWEEZY

Wilton, N. H., October 23

Point 4 and Employment

Dear Sirs: I consider *The Nation* the most intelligent magazine in this country, but for that very reason I wish to protest against your advancing the prevent-unemployment argument in favor of Point 4 and like programs. There are plenty of sound reasons for such programs, but prevention of unemployment is not one of them.

There is no reason—except lack of vision, intelligence, and courage—for any unemployment at all so long as the wants of any part of the human race are unfulfilled, but that includes Americans as well as Indonesians. This is not an attempt to justify selfishness with the "charity begins at home" routine. On the contrary, I want Indonesians and everyone else to be well fed, well clothed, and well housed. But tying up such programs with prevention of unemployment at home only encourages the make-work and spread-work fallacies, which in the long run contract the supply of goods out of which a high standard of living is made.

Advocate all the redistributions you please, but don't encourage the notion that distribution can precede production!

HELEN BUGBEE

Chicago, October 20

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